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Royal Commission on Metropolitan Government

Statement to accompany brief of
REEVE TRUE DAVIDSON
East York Township

THE
ROYAL COMMISSION
ON
METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT

1964

Brief of
REEVE TRUE DAVIDSON
East York Township



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This brief, which should be read in connection with the brief of the Township of East York, is, like that brief, based on the lengthy and unfinished statement which is submitted herewith as supporting material.

The statement began as an attempt to condense and clarify fifteen years of municipal experience, including work on one of the sub-committees when the Civic Advisory Council of Toronto was working out recommendations for the future of the area prior to the passage of Bill 80. It proved to be too big an undertaking to be completed, in the time available, by one working reeve, plagued by a conscientious inability to let the less interesting jobs slide, with the assistance of an already overworked secretary.

The major principles, as they became clear, were, therefore, presented to Council, in such general form as to permit rapid consideration and easy acceptance, and embodied in the township brief. The detailed measures which might work out these principles are embodied in the present brief.

There is, therefore, no need here to refine upon the problems of the present Metropolitan Toronto system, rooted in expediency, inequitable in representation, and creating an uneasy balance between city and suburbs, as if they were natural enemies, nor to point out the problems arising from constant uncertainty as to the future of individual services under the local authorities, and even as to the survival of the local authorities themselves. These

factors have all contributed to the waste of time and the exacerbation of historic hostilities, which are traced in section I of the Statement, and to the problems which are listed on page 1 of the township brief.

Section II of the Statement represents an attempt by your correspondent to list some of the criteria which must be implicit in the mind of anyone making value judgements, but which are often difficult to put in words. It deals with the establishment of a good physical environment, opportunity for work and play, and the need to satisfy such divergent cravings as excitement, security, and personal and community significance, and concludes:

Summing up, then, the ideal suggested for Metro is a rich centre core ringed with a string of varied, and as far as possible, autonomous, communities each with its own special attractions; where mobility is not inconsistent with safety, where the human personality is not subordinated to political monuments, and where an individual can find contentment and a sense of being at home. If the pace of growth must be slowed up somewhat to ensure this, that is a price we should be willing to pay. One of the most endearing qualities of Toronto has always been her emphasis on the old-fashioned importance of home, church and ethical behaviour. Let's make Lady Eaton our archetype, not Elizabeth Taylor.

Section III of the Statement is a fuller analysis of the history of the amalgamation agitation than appears in the township brief, but its conclusion is identical; that local governments should be retained as stated on page 4 of the township brief.

Section IV of the Statement rejects the muchdiscussed four-borough and five-borough systems. It points out that neither would solve Scarborough's financial problems. Furthermore, at least as envisaged by their principal sponsors, both perpetuate the undesirable and unrealistic confrontation of city and suburbs. Both would soon be inequitable representation-wise, yet would be difficult to amend, and would establish much larger units of local government than are thought necessary or desirable in cities of 8 million as compared with 1½ million.

The study rejects financial interest as a basis for representation, suggesting that financial inequalities must be solved otherwise. In determining optimum size it concentrates on adequacy to the solution of local problems, and maintenance, wherever possible, of community traditions, which are considered to play a vital part in good life for the individual also. A pattern suggested by the writer in Metropolitan Council is examined rather fully and the final recommendation, concurred in by the township brief on page 7, is for an optimum local size of 40,000 to 80,000. A possible consolidation recommended by a distinguished planning consultant follows:

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Representation</u>	<u>Ratio</u>
City of Toronto (and Swansea)	651,477	13	50,114
North York (& Weston)	288,201	5	57,640
Scarborough	227,197	4	55,439

Etobicoke	162,291	3	54,097
York Township (and Forest Hill)	146,837	3	45,946
East York(& Leaside)	89,989	2	44,995
Mimico, New Toronto and Long Branch	41,393	1	41,393
			(a)

Other suggested set-ups are shown on maps presented by Mr Gardiner to the Metropolitan Council and reproduced on the following pages together with a somewhat modified version which might be more realistic to-day.

It must be admitted these solutions are more to preserving local autonomy than to securing a workable metropolitan council. One representative for every 100,000 or 150,000 would make a better council now and one for every 200,000 would be better when Metropolitan population reaches the two million mark. It is suggested later, however, that metropolitan responsibility be confined as far as possible to serving local needs, co-operating with

a. Population figures brought up to date. See Toronto Municipal Handbook 1963-4, and representation amended where necessary. If the boundaries of East York were taken down to Danforth and up to Eglinton, the boundaries of York brought down to St. Clair, and the boundaries of Lakeshore brought up to Queen Elizabeth, all of which changes have been suggested, there would be still less discrepancy in these figures.

local planning, and arbitrating local differences and conflicting claims, and if this should ever come to be accepted, the size of the Metropolitan Council would be less important. Official empire-building and individual ambitions have played a part in the inefficiency, waste and lack of intelligent planning which have so far marred Metro's great achievements, and these will be discontinued only if the basic value of the local community is more clearly recognized.

Rational adjustments of boundaries are recommended in Section V, such as moving them to the nearest major traffic arteries so that they no longer intersect lots and even buildings as at present. Such intersections may lead to conflicting zonings and confusion regarding services.

Limited access highways are not considered good boundaries because in most cases community life moves over or under them and ignores them. The situation may be different with newer developments, where community organizations have not existed prior to road construction.

Any more extensive rearrangements should bear in mind the importance of tradition. Historic names should be preserved wherever possible. Existing community relationships are as important as formal rules-of-thumb for planning, since a ravine which would be an appropriate dividing line in some communities can elsewhere be a central focus of neighbourhood activity and pride.

Section V of the statement includes a somewhat detailed appraisal of the changes which would be involved in the extension of the East York boundaries north to Eglinton and south to Danforth. Amalgamation with Leaside would present little problem because of the many reciprocal arrangements already in effect. But local people should be involved on all such planning.

It is because of tradition that any attempt to break down the unwieldy structure of the City of Toronto is likely to fail, however desirable it might otherwise seem. The only way in which this might be accomplished would be through "Amalgamation" and "decentralization" of the resultant city into a new type called a metropolitan city, with independent ward governments with reeves or controllers in each ward heading local authorities along the lines of the present area municipalities and an elected or appointed mayor at the head of the joint authority.

It is suggested, in any case, that plans be laid well in advance to prevent North York, Scarborough and Etobicoke from ever attaining the unwieldy size of the City, which is beyond the easy comprehension of many civil servants and council members, and hence results in government of a very uneven standard.

Terminology should be unified throughout the Metropolitan system, work streamlined and divided more evenly, pay to elected officials made uniform, terms of office lengthened, "politicking" reduced to a minimum, voting procedures standardized and manhood franchise extended throughout Metro.

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Certain common questions are answered, with reasons.

The Metro chairman should be appointed by his council but mayors of small councils should not.

Mayors are the best representatives on Metro but can only be so if their work is recognized as a full-time job. Otherwise Metro councillors should be elected with other councillors and sit at both levels, though without special local responsibilities. In larger communities, ward representatives could sit on both bodies and leave mayors to devote all their attention to local municipalities.

The party system should not be introduced.

Plebiscites are an unsatisfactory method of working out a method of government.

Section VI makes brief comments on the financial situation. The last decade has seen a considerable increase in services, and consequently in costs, throughout Metro. The recent assumption by Metro of mandatory welfare costs, T.T.C. debt, school building costs, and hospital grants, together with its mounting construction programmes, is placing an almost unbearable burden on local taxpayers, particularly in the dormitory suburbs where there is little commercial or industrial assessment to ease the burden on the local residential rate. Toronto's high tax rate is caused mostly by her failure to realize that she cannot purchase as many luxuries as before she had a family to look after, but is causing her council natural concern.

The suggested solution is an assignment of all commercial and

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industrial assessment as the tax base for metropolitan operations.

This is equitable because, by and large, it is business and industry which profit from city growth and the services supplied, while the local residents enjoy the local services and amenities and are willing to pay for them if not overburdened by a metropolitan tax.

It would go far towards equalizing financial capacity, since every community has a range of housing qualities and residential taxes would have to be applied by each neighbourhood to what it wanted most without the chance of outdoing its neighbours by drawing on funds from a different source.

It would be in the interests of good planning, since industry and commerce could go where they fitted in best, and it would make no difference to local tax rates.

And it might interest more business men in the operation of the metropolitan council, with which their interests would be so completely identified.

Finally, this change would be clean cut. There would be none of this manoeuvring and manipulating to get the greatest possible advantage for one's own municipality by whatever system of grants or subsidies was being discussed or whatever costs were being assumed.

In considering what changes, if any, should be made at this time in the distribution of powers and responsibilities between metropolitan and local governments it will be assumed that the financial

reform suggested above or others equally clear-cut and decisive, have relieved the area municipalities to a point where they can discharge their local responsibilities without undue distress.

A reassessment of the values outlined in section 11 leads to the conclusion that those inherent in the living local community should have a higher priority for our attention than those of the remoter "big" city, since the latter have behind them all the force of the modern passion for size and movement and profits.

There has been distinct local loss in connection with services already transferred to Metro, such as police and licensing, and there might well be some resumption of local co-operation in these fields as outlined in section V11.

Most of the services now provided by the Metropolitan Corporation, together with others which have been suggested in this section. The emphasis is entirely on the local community since it is felt that the Metropolitan system was set up to facilitate the healthy growth of local communities rather than to replace them with a thirteen-headed or even a five-headed monster.

Special reference should be made to planning where it is felt that an improper situation has arisen from the attempt of the Metropolitan Planning Board and Commissioner to double as regional and local planners. As regional planners they sit in judgement on the local plans of area municipalities and this is fine as long as these

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do not conflict with Metropolitan projects. Occasionally they do, however. Then the Commissioner, on account of his planning involvement with the programming of the Metropolitan Council, which is a local planning area for regional purposes, is already committed in his judgement, and recently said openly that he considered it one of his functions to support the wishes of the Metropolitan Council.

It is East York's contention that planning, of all functions, should pertain to local authority, as it does in London England, except where neighbouring or Metropolitan interests conflict. When this happens the regional planning board and Commissioner should be able to approach the problem with complete objectivity and make recommendations on the grounds of good planning alone, without prior commitments.

The relative duties of the Metropolitan and local planning boards and departments should be clarified, and if necessary redefined, to prevent such detailed, building-by-building, studies as Metro has been doing in its sub plans. It should concentrate its energies on research, experiment, special co-ordinated efforts such as the Waterfront Plan and the urban Renewal Study, and general co-ordination of local planning.

The East York Board of Education and Library Board are submitting separate briefs, so in this connection we speak only, but as strongly as possible, against the two-level system where there is no real division of services possible, and urge closer collaboration between local bodies if not actual mergers.

Health and Welfare services and Transportation proved to be so bulky that they were moved into separate sections (VIII & IX) for convenient reference.

In approaching the former there is a plea for clarification of responsibilities between the province and the municipality as there were earlier pleas for better terms of reference for the metropolitan and local authorities.

Hospitals for active treatment and for the chronically ill, with out-patient clinics attached there to, should perhaps, like mental hospitals, be a responsibility of the province.

Metropolitan Toronto could continue to give domiciliary homes for the aged and might take on nursing and convalescent homes should these be in short supply. Local authorities could provide home nursing care, visiting homemakers and other ancillary care, as to-day, and perhaps, in co-operation with school boards, provide preventive mental health measures paralleling those undertaken in connection with physical health. Then we would all know where we are. Reasons for these recommendations appear in the statement.

It is recommended that public authorities do not undertake the provision of ambulances but that licensed vehicles be compelled to carry radios on the police frequency so that the nearest can be reached quickly in accident or emergency.

We feel very strongly that voluntary welfare services should remain a local responsibility, unless the province assumes certain charges such as those recommended by the Ontario Welfare Officers' Association in regard to children of unmarried mothers. We concur in Social Planning Council suggestions of a closer local

link with police and Juvenile and Family Courts, but do not think present voluntary agencies can be municipally housed unless they come under municipal control. We feel that communities have a real responsibility for rehabilitation, though how it can be exercised in the present welter of varied services it is hard to see.

In regard to public housing the local role is again stressed, together with clarification and standardization of regulations at the Federal, Provincial and Metropolitan level to give local administrators a free hand. There should be much less building of large projects but one or two houses in as many new subdivisions as possible, more if the subdivisions are larger, and much more rehabilitation of older housing. Again the local municipality should decide how and where. And, above all, no-one should be expropriated for public housing if he cannot be helped to find a new home, in an equally satisfactory area, and within his means. It is individuals who matter, not monuments to the vision and benevolence of politicians.

The conflict between human and materialistic values, has/ up to this point manifested itself in the struggle between groups of individuals trying to secure a good environment for themselves with satisfying amenities (expressing themselves through the local municipality) and the massive impersonal forces set in motion by big business, big advertising and big newspapers (expressing themselves always in support of the big government which they understand and can usually control)

It is finally reduced to its lowest common denominator, man versus the machine, pedestrian versus the motor car.

In defending man against the motor car, the conclusions of section 1X are as follows:

"A. That all streets be classified according to function and jurisdiction. This might be by assuming all arterial roads as Metro Streets. All other streets under local jurisdiction would be Local Streets for this purpose.

"B. That metro adopt a policy that no action will be taken which would encourage the use of local streets by through traffic.

"C. That the local municipalities adopt a policy that no action will be taken which would encourage the development of traffic generating uses having direct access onto Metro roads..."

'D On-street parking which is prohibited in strip commercial areas as roads are taken over by Metropolitan Toronto should be compensated for by off-street parking in the same area, provided by taking over some of the commercial properties.

E. Metropolitan Toronto should take over the Toronto Parking Authority, provide adequate parking not only as indicated in D above but at subway terminals and major entrances to the downtown area, which should be used only by taxis, chauffeur-driven cars moving in and out, delivery trucks and public transportation.

F. More attention should be paid to pedestrian safety and less to speeding up traffic."

G. The Toronto Transit System should come directly under the Metropolitan Government with a single very able and fully responsible Commissioner.

SUMMARY

While this brief, and the statement or study on which it is based, are the result of an honest attempt at objectivity, it is recognized with some uneasiness that the results vary little from opinions formulated earlier by aid of that sub-conscious computer in the back of the human brain.

The criteria of that sub-conscious computer are apparently somewhat as follows:

(a) Individual differences and individual integrity are too valuable to be merged in the mass man, the regimented stereotype; the big city, the party machine.

(b) The independence of the citizens and their ability to work for what they want are more important than the exact amounts of corn and games which result.

(c) It is as bad for a man to deprive him of a sense of his own significance as to deprive him of food. Because he is gregarious, he can only achieve this sense of significance as he feels himself ¹ a part of a community which is doing things together.

(d) As a scientist or a musician one may belong to a world community, but the ordinary man must have a comprehensible local setting. Most of us are ordinary, and can only be good cosmopolites, as Tennyson suggests if we love the country we can know and wish it to be a good citizen in the community of nations.

(e) There are minimum and maximum sizes for efficient and well co-ordinated operation in a committee, a council and a municipality, - indeed in any social or political unit even, if they would admit it, a province or a nation. These must be determined in relation to all factors, mental and emotional as well as material. Below the optimum size the urge should be towards consolidation; above it, towards decentralization.

(f) In the interests of economy, efficiency and best results, there should be the greatest possible co-ordination at every level. The specialist and the technical expert should always therefore, be subordinated to the truly dedicated politician (elected or appointed) since only the latter can see the whole picture.

(g) Clear terms of reference and fixed but equitable delimitation of powers and responsibilities are essential, between government authorities on the same or different levels. The machinery for the settlement of differences should be as simple as possible, and should ensure not only that justice is done but

that it is seen to be done.

It may be suggested that this brief and statement are not a genuine attempt to apply these principles to the current Metropolitan situation but a plea for the survival of East York township. In reply it can only be said that to the present reeve East York, with all its limitations, of all the places lived in during 60 years as the daughter of an itinerant Methodist clergyman and in a succession of jobs, comes nearest to providing its citizens adequately with the needs indicated in (a) (b) and (c) above.

East York has within it a rare vitality. Its Ratepayers' Federation has submitted a brief against amalgamation, and its people wish to survive as a group.

This is not because of any especially favourable financial position, for the township enjoys none. It has the lowest per capita population in Metro. But for several years it has been buying equipment and paying for projects out of current income when other and richer communities have been debenturing for them.

East York is small enough to know what services and amenities its people want and need, and large enough to supply them. It provides all services, directly or through Metro, except certain elements of library service which will continue to buy from Toronto until the end of 1964. More than 700 people are engaged in some sort of voluntary work with or for the township

and there is a remarkable sense of fellowship, with participation by churches, schools, home and school associations, service clubs, hobby groups, ratepayers' associations, legions and many others. We present annually a unique Dominion Day programme in which thousands participate. We have pioneered in many fields of education and recreation. There is a tremendous community pride, which gives residents a sense of belonging, of security and of significance. We cannot sum up the feeling of East Yorkers about their township better than by telling of the experience of an investigator for the Metro Housing Authority. The room was small and rather untidy for the mother was young and there were three babies. She was almost crying as she apologized, and said she must somehow get into decent housing. "I'm not accustomed to living like this," she said, "I was brought up in East York". To her it was something to live up to and work for. East York is that to all of us.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

"Expediency, my dear girl,
just expediency." - Private conversation.

The Metropolitan Toronto set-up is a federation not dissimilar in some of its more doubtful aspects to Canadian Confederation. The dangers which compelled the national union a hundred years ago were primarily external, while those confronting Toronto and its suburbs in the early nineteen-fifties were internal, but in both cases it was urgently necessary, somehow, to draw together a number of communities varying widely in size, economic resources, history, character and ambitions. In both cases the original structure, imaginative and far-sighted in conception, was actually jerry-built, under pressure, and ended up with many flaws.

When a distinguished politician was asked how the absurd system of representation on the Metropolitan Toronto Council and School Board had ever been devised, he answered airily - "Expediency, my dear girl, just expediency." To some extent the Cumming report⁽¹⁾ itself, in spite of its great originality, informed wisdom, and shrewd judgement, tacitly admits the fact that the remedies proposed are in the nature of emergency remedies⁽²⁾.

(1) "The Decisions and Recommendations of the Ontario Municipal Board" dated January 20, 1953, in the matter of the Application of the City of Toronto and the Town of Mimico, hereinafter cited as The Cumming Report.

(2) Op. cit, page 47.

"...in making its selection of powers to be given to the central authority, the board has attempted to exclude purely theoretical considerations and to confine its attention to the actual situation of the municipalities in the Toronto area as disclosed in the evidence, and the special problems which concern them and them alone at the present stage of development."

Section VI, pages 40-42 inclusive, makes it clear that the Municipal Board in considering the applications of the City of Toronto and the Town of Mimico for changes in the form of government of Greater Toronto, heard no "exposition or discussion of the types of metropolitan organization which have been adopted in other places"⁽³⁾ and had "been unable to undertake any independent study or research in the limited time available". It thus confined itself to an attempt to work out "a plan expressly designed to meet the most immediate needs of the area and to avoid the most serious obstacles"⁽⁴⁾.

To render the scheme at all generally acceptable, each of the twelve suburbs had to have a representative in the federated set-up. In fairness to the City of Toronto it had to have at least as many representatives as the suburbs, which still represented a somewhat smaller total population. By taking the senior alderman from each of the nine Toronto wards and adding the Mayor and two top Controllers⁽⁵⁾

(3) Op. cit, page 42.

(4) Ibid.

(5) In the case of council. Because the three Lakeshore municipalities had a single Board of Education, the nine senior Toronto Trustees and the Chairman of the Toronto Board were enrolled to balance the ten Chairmen of suburban Boards on the Metropolitan School Board.

an uneasy temporary balance was secured⁽⁶⁾. The fact that suburban interests were not identical was ignored, and no provision was made for redistribution of representation as some municipalities grew and others remained static⁽⁷⁾. The financial implications of the new

- (6) At that time the differences of size and wealth between the suburbs were less striking than they rapidly became, and bore a more reasonable relation to the size and wealth of the city.

	\$ Assessment (in millions)		\$ Per Cap. Assessment		Population	
	1953	1963	1953	1963	1953	1963
East York	99.7	127.4	1445	1787	65,736	71,300
Etobicoke	197.6	498.5	2380	3021	70,209	165,001
North York	257.9	716.7	1969	2502	110,311	286,446
Scarborough	174.0	448.9	1813	1949	78,803	230,338
York	169.4	226.8	1598	1792	100,463	126,511
Forest Hill	54.9	71.8	2969	3364	17,719	21,513
Leaside	59.2	76.4	3481	4052	15,910	18,853
Mimico	20.6	35.0	1673	1947	12,301	17,989
New Toronto	34.1	43.8	3046	3309	11,190	12,924
Long Branch	13.7	19.9	1472	1794	9,140	11,091
Weston	18.6	25.8	2190	2624	3,374	9,832
Swansea	18.5	24.4	2122	2526	8,344	9,249
Suburban total:	1,118.2	2,315.4			508,500	981,045
Toronto	1,544.0	1,905.2	2262	2957	665,502	644,358

- (7) The Civic Advisory Council of Toronto had stressed the "necessity of securing flexibility in whatever structure is adopted" as early as its Annual Report of 1951, page 3.

The final report (March 9, 1951) of the Committee on Metropolitan Problems to the Civic Advisory Council (hereinafter cited as the Civic Advisory Report) devoted a section (p.11) to the "need for flexibility in metropolitan government" and among its final recommendations urged the necessity for "revision of geographical boundaries and the scheme of representation when and where required" (P.35).

set-up received only the most cursory attention⁽⁸⁾ and Metro was given virtually a free hand with redistribution of responsibilities, which was one of the most controversial aspects of the federation.

Boundary changes before Metro

Municipal boundaries throughout Ontario had always before been flexible. Districts became counties; united counties were divided; cities and towns separated; these separated cities and towns spread their services into the adjoining rural areas and annexed them. Always the movement had been towards a more useful and realistic division of the areas to be governed. Of late years, the chief operative factor had been the need to divide urban and rural and combined areas so that each could get the services it needed, and for which it was willing to pay.

This process had operated in the Toronto area, as elsewhere, as shown by a list of annexations⁽⁹⁾ stretching over the greater part of a century.

(8) Here also the Civic Advisory Council in its Annual Report of 1951 had stressed the fact that financial arrangements would have to be worked out in advance. Op. cit, p.5.

(9) The original city and liberties consisted of land and water areas of 7,899.9 acres and 2,460 acres respectively. To-day the land area of the city is 22,378.8 acres (34.96 square miles) and the water area is 3,627.11 acres (5.67 square miles), the increases being made by the following annexations:

<u>District</u>	<u>Area (acres)</u>	<u>Date of Annexation</u>
Yorkville	556.8	Feb. 1, 1883
Brockton (including High Park)	975.9	Mar. 25, 1884
Riverdale	1,236.6	Mar. 25, 1884 (cont'd.)

District (cont'd.)	Area (acres)	Date of Annexation
Riverdale	1,236.6	Mar. 25, 1884
Rosedale	98.5	Jan. 3, 1887
Strip north of Queen Street	57.7	Jan. 3, 1887
Annex	212.4	Jan. 3, 1887
Walker and Woodlawn Aves.	48.8	Jan. 2, 1888
Poplar Plains Road	16.1	Jan. 2, 1888
North of Bloor and West of Bathurst	1,082.4	Jan. 2, 1888
Sunnyside	115.2	Jan. 2, 1888
Parkdale	578.4	Mar. 23, 1889
	84.0*	
Greenwood Side Line	32.8	Jan. 6, 1890
Lakeshore Road	116.4	May 27, 1893
	6.0*	
Summerhill Avenue	3.59	Oct. 2, 1903
Pt. of Humber Bay & Lake W. of Island Avenue Road	1,115.0*	Oct. 10, 1903
North Rosedale	128.4	Mar. 10, 1905
Annex West of Avenue Road	277.7	Jan. 1, 1906
Deer Park	29.3	Jan. 1, 1907
Baldwin Estate	241.2	Dec. 15, 1908
East Toronto	51.4	Dec. 15, 1908
Wychwood and Bracondale	602.7	Dec. 15, 1908
West Toronto	582.2	Feb. 1, 1909
Midway	1,609.8	May 1, 1909
Balmy Beach	1,347.6	Dec. 15, 1909
Dovercourt and Earlscourt	191.5	Dec. 15, 1909
Helliwell property	725.2	Jan. 10, 1910
Montclair District	37.2	June 1, 1912
North Toronto	22.7	July 1, 1912
Moore Park	2,701.6	Dec. 15, 1912
Glebe Estate	259.7	Dec. 16, 1912
Mount Pleasant Cemetery	73.7	May 1, 1914
South side Bloor Street (Swansea)	207.1	June 27, 1914
N. of Danforth and E. of Woodbine Aves.	10.3	Jan. 20, 1920
Davies Estate	93.8	Sept. 1, 1920
Annette Street, North side	15.1	Jan. 2, 1921
Runnymede Road, West side	6.6	Jan. 4, 1922
Rowntree Avenue, North side	6.4	Jan. 4, 1922
Criole Parkway	3.5	Jan. 4, 1923
Gunn's Road and Northland Avenue	13.8	Jan. 4, 1924
Newmarket and Meagher Avenues	6.1	Jan. 4, 1924
Bayview Avenue (street only)	5.5	Jan. 4, 1925
Lake Shore Bridge Approach	4.1	May 2, 1930
	.4	Apr. 3, 1934
	.7*	
Belt Line Railway	21.7	Jan. 1, 1947
Eglinton and Bayview Avenues	16.2	Jan. 1, 1947
Nursewood Road, East Half	.7	Feb. 23, 1950
Victoria Park Avenue, West half	.87	June 1, 1954
Total land area:	34.96 square miles	
Total water area:	5.67 square miles	

*Water area

It was in 1883, just prior to the first rush of annexations that the Village (later, the Town) of Weston was incorporated. The next break in the continuity came just before the first World War with the setting up of special-interest towns such as Mimico (1910), Leaside and New Toronto (1913) - the two latter heavily supplied with industry.

Industry backed the incorporation of these small residential communities and, as a result, was able to pay much lower taxes than would have been levied by the City, with its rapidly rising standards for all sorts of services and amenities and its large areas of exempt property.⁽¹⁰⁾

Such communities as Forest Hill (incorporated in 1924) and Swansea (incorporated in 1930) had also special interests. They were nuclei of extremely high-class residential development which wished to preserve their unique atmosphere and amenities. Long Branch was also incorporated in 1930, when Etobicoke refused to provide water and sewage services for the working-class community which had grown up at its southern extremity.

The Townships of Scarborough and Etobicoke, divisions of the original York County, and incorporated in 1850, were still largely rural⁽¹¹⁾ but by the middle 1920's the Township of York was so rent by incorporations and annexations and so altered by

(10) It is generally believed in East York that the Thorncliffe Race Track area was transferred to Leaside in 1954 - a serious financial loss to the Township - largely because of the political influence of the original promoters who wished to develop under the low tax rate of Leaside. If this were true, it would merely be a more recent example of the factors which played a part in the setting-up of a new urban nuclei a half-century ago.

(11) Even by 1945 their population was still only as follows: Etobicoke 21,402; Scarborough 25,482.

sections of urban development, that it was deemed wise to recognise the differing rural character of the northern part by setting it off as the separate municipality of North York (incorporated in 1922) and to recognise the geographical separation ⁽¹²⁾ of the present township of East York (incorporated in 1923).

Development of East York

"The first settlers of East York were of British stock", as pointed out in a township history. "They came to what were then the wide open spaces, determined to make a go of it. It was not easy. They built their own homes brick by brick as they earned sufficient money to buy bricks. Many of us who are old enough to remember have seen these days pass, not without some sadness. The descendants of those original pioneers, many of whom are still living in East York, have every reason to be proud of their ancestors."⁽¹³⁾

The historian appears to be thinking of depression days, but in actual fact parts of East York were settled very early.⁽¹⁴⁾

The Parshall Terry cabin (sided over) and the Helliwell mud
brick house survive in the Don Valley, two of the oldest^(14a)

(12) Divided from the centre of government in York Township by Leaside and North Toronto, and what was about to become Forest Hill.

(13) Brochure prepared in 1958 to accompany the Township's Master Plan, and published in 1959. Page 3.

(14) As recently as 1945 East York was third largest of the Metropolitan municipalities, population-wise, and fourth largest in 1950 -- See page 5 of Civic Advisory Report.

(14a) Last decade of 18th century and first decade of 19th.

buildings in Toronto. The village of Todmorden, settled by Lancashire and Yorkshire mill hands - Primitive Methodists mostly - is now merged in a larger neighbourhood, but it set the tone of sturdy independence and community pride which the township retains to this day.

East York's Planning Director, appointed in 1959, was immediately struck by this "fierce community pride" and the "Background" of our Official Plan⁽¹⁵⁾ refers to the "lively community spirit...the very high proportion of owner occupation and the, until now, very stable character of the community".

"Planning Principles" in the same document take account of the "unusual sense of community identity". It is the hope of our Plan, as approved by the Municipal Board and the Minister, to take "all possible steps ... to maintain this community identity within the wider loyalty to Metropolitan Toronto."

(15) Amendment No. 4 to the Official Plan of the Township of East York Planning Area, approved by the Ontario Municipal Board in June, 1962.

Perhaps the very hardships⁽¹⁶⁾ the township suffered during the depression helped to develop community pride, as patriotism is sometimes developed to an astonishing level in hard northern countries.

An additional unifying factor in East York was the fact that very large community settlements were made following each of the two World Wars. Three branches of the Canadian Legion are located in the township and play an active part in township life.

Growth of City-Suburban antagonism

Differences between city and suburbs over annexations were noted in the Brief of the Township of East York to the Select Committee on Municipal Affairs dated August, 1962, hereinafter known as the Select Committee Brief:

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- (16) The Brief of the Township of East York to the Ontario Municipal Board in 1950 against the amalgamation proposals of the City of Toronto (hereinafter cited as: 1950 Brief, East York) says:

"In an attempt to avoid bankruptcy, when the depression of the '30's was commencing, we, at that time, urged upon the City the amalgamation of our municipalities and we all recall what short shift, being 'poor relations' we received from them. ...The fact that East York was under supervision was a blow to our civic pride, but we in common with other municipalities have profited from that adversity. We always have it in mind that our ratepayers must provide the money we require for civic purposes. They cannot afford either waste or extravagance. Before we undertake any expenditure, we must be satisfied, firstly, that it is reasonably necessary, and secondly, that it is reasonably within the capacity of our ratepayers to pay. East York has planned and sacrificed for a period of 25 years".

"It would appear that the urbanized communities which were established in the early 1920's in that part of York Township immediately adjacent to the City of Toronto were sparked, in part at least, by resentment of the City's policy of piecemeal⁽¹⁷⁾ annexation. Certainly in 1926 both the new township of East York⁽¹⁸⁾ and the pared, consolidated township of York secured legislation to prevent any further annexation."

Feeling ran high between suburban dwellers and the City during the period of annexations. Suburban dwellers felt that they were being left to do all the back-breaking purse-depleting work of establishing themselves as urban areas, only to be taken over by the city. The city grumbled that it was always being expected to absorb new indigestible lumps of semi-rural land. This resulted, finally, in a decision by the city to annex no more land at about the same time at which the suburbs were securing legislation to prevent it from doing so⁽¹⁹⁾.

- (17) The irregular and irrational southern boundaries of the present townships of York and East York are one result of this process.
- (18) Statutes of Ontario, 1926, Chapter 106.
- (19) See note (18) above. Subsequently Private Bills were passed by the Province in behalf of East York in 1937, 1938 and 1943. 1937: "Sec.2.(1) Notwithstanding the provisions of the Municipal Act, or any other Act, no part of the Township of East York shall be annexed to any adjoining municipality nor be incorporated as a municipality separate and apart from the Township of East York nor be erected into a police village without the approval of the Council of the Corporation of the Township of East York, to be expressed by by-law". Sec. 2.(2) states this is in force only until July 1st, 1938. The Bills of 1938 and 1943 enforce the above for five years, in the case of each Bill. The enactment of 1943 ran until 1948, and no further legislation has been enacted since.

Competition and mutual distrust have been fomented by all three metropolitan dailies whenever the question of re-organizing the area has come under discussion, and a typical example of a warning issued by the newspapers to the City of Toronto may be cited from the period preceding the establishment of a metropolitan system⁽²⁰⁾ offering strong arguments against even partial amalgamation. More recently the inflammatory articles have all condemned the parochialism of the suburbs.

Under the circumstances it is no wonder that wrangles between the city and the suburbs have been a regular feature of Metropolitan Council activity. A certain natural tendency of city members to vote en bloc, particularly where city interests were concerned, usually enabled the city to control Council, supported by the votes of one or two suburban members who could be brought into line by pressures or promises for themselves or for the municipalities they represented.

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- (20) "In the first place, Toronto has the advantage of taxation upon business houses, industrial plants and other commercial institutions to a degree not enjoyed by satellite municipalities. These concerns contribute heavily to the City treasury, but do not send children to school to add to the expense of education. Taking the Toronto area as a whole, therefore, it is likely that a metropolitan plan would siphon off some of this advantage and increase taxation within Toronto.
"There may be merit in the contention that the downtown district belongs to the whole area, and that the urban territory outside the city should, therefore, share in that district's taxes for educational purposes. But the result of such a division of taxes should be realized in discussing any metropolitan area plan.
"In the second place, it is clear that if the one-fare transportation system is extended beyond the present city limits, the fare within the city will have to be increased. The shorter-haul passengers will have to pay more in order that the long-hauls may pay less. And it was the city, and the city alone, which pledged its credit and issued its bonds in order that the street railway might be bought and an adequate system provided under public ownership."

Quoted from the Toronto Star, Editorial, December 5, 1949, The Star was commenting on proposals for the unification of East York, Forest Hill, Leaside, North York, Swansea, Toronto, Weston and York as recommended by the Toronto and York Planning Board under the Chairmanship of Mr. F. G. Gardiner, Q.C., and with the Mayor of Toronto as a member, ex-officio.

This annoyed the rest of the members and threw them into more of a suburban bloc than their varied aims and interests might otherwise have permitted.

The City of Toronto vote, for example, has always controlled the election of suburban members to the powerful Executive Committee. Marie Curtis (22) was dropped after she opposed the 2-mill subsidy for T.T.C. subway construction. She was again defeated in 1961, along with Norman Goodhead, (23) although nominated and supported by a caucus of suburban members; they were defeated by Albert Campbell (24) and Charles Hiscott, (25) supported by a solid city vote and voting for themselves and for each other. In both cases the city vote carried the day.

The Town of New Toronto always voted with the City against the equalization of water rates because it, like the City, had profited from the original arrangement. Equalization of water rates was thus impossible until February 25, 1958, when the eloquence of the then Chairman, Mr. F.G. Gardiner, Q.C.,

(22) Reeve of Long Branch, 1952 - 1962, dropped in 1959.

(23) Reeve of North York, 1959 - . North York was said to have embarrassed its neighbours by breaking what was understood to be a gentleman's agreement re union negotiations, something which Toronto had done with impunity, but which it would not tolerate from a suburb.

(24) Reeve of Scarborough, 1957 - .

(25) Mayor of Leaside, 1956 - 1962.

worked on the conscience of several of the more public-spirited Toronto members (26) to vote against what seemed to be the interests of their own municipality.

The sudden cessation of annexation in the twenties had left a number of grotesque boundaries (27) often running through lots, and even buildings. And since the Toronto Board of Education (28) had been far-sightedly building at the city boundaries, and beyond, it left Kitchener School⁽²⁹⁾ and Dentonia Play Park⁽³⁰⁾ some blocks within East York and Gledhill School straddling the boundary.

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- (26) Aldermen Nash, Robinson and Waters and Controller Newman voted with the suburban representatives (except Mayor Russell of New Toronto) to establish a uniform water rate in accordance with a Report of the Works Committee, amended in the Committee of the Whole on the recommendation of the Executive. This fact was later used against Mrs. Newman in an election campaign when she was tagged by an opponent as "the most expensive Controller Toronto ever had".
 - (27) Notice especially the Toronto borders with York and East York as shown on Map 2. The difficulty of boundaries is mentioned again in section V.
 - (28) The Toronto Public Library Board claims to have followed the same pattern though we are not aware of any libraries that actually cross boundaries. "In the establishment of branch libraries the Board, cognizant of the policy of the City for progressive annexation of adjoining municipalities, established several branches close to the City boundaries. However, abandonment of this annexation policy by the City in the 1920's has resulted in these branches serving residents living outside the City"; Public Libraries in Metropolitan Toronto Brief to the Goldenberg Commission, (second draft) Annex 1, page 1.
 - (29) Now the Toronto Teachers' College.
 - (30) A gift from the Massey Estate to Toronto, which the township has offered to rent and operate as an open public service, since the City complains that East York youngsters use it and this can hardly be prevented. The City was not interested.

One of the phases of the Metro system most resented by East York was the arbitrary transfer of hundreds of children to fill vacant classrooms in Gledhill and Earl Beatty Schools because the Toronto Board of Education had - arrogantly, in East York's opinion - overbuilt along the borders.⁽³¹⁾

We have been advised that there was similar resistance in York Township in regard to Mercer and Hughes Schools and Oakwood Collegiate, where the children have to attend outside the township boundaries.⁽³²⁾

Such clashes served to emphasize the city-suburban antithesis which was suggested and daily reinforced by the entire organization of Metro Toronto. The city-suburban membership was equally balanced on Council, on the Executive, and on each of the Standing Committees. Chairmanships alternated. The Mayor of Toronto was automatically a member of the Metro Planning Board, balanced by a suburbanite recommended by the Executive. This antithesis became an accepted pattern. It minimized individual skills and tastes and local variations in needs or resources. It indicated that the only difference that mattered - and one that was apparently as basic and insuperable as the greatest bigot could find in race or religion - was that between city and suburbs. The city was never regarded as merely the largest of the thirteen area municipalities, in which position it would have

(31) See map of East York (Map 1)

(32) See map of Metro (Map 2)

automatically assumed the position of leadership freely accorded North York, Scarborough and Etobicoke. Instead of **this**, it was the "separated" group and so, almost inevitably, the enemy.

The City, with its long traditions, and high-quality, high-cost services, many of them unique in the area **and** probably destined to remain so, has never brought itself to consult its fellow municipalities about plans. Its procedure has always been to do all the planning itself, undertake a project - new City Hall, specially designed furniture, new Courthouse, urban redevelopment scheme, art centre, library reorganization, fire-boat, olympic swimming pool, Grey Cup float, or what have you? - select its own location, prepare its own specifications, set up its own administration, launch the finished product with a great fanfare of publicity, and then expect Metro to pay all or part of the cost.

These campaigns to compel Metro to share costs of City projects are usually fought in the press and often seem to suburban members to completely misrepresent their position. For example, Toronto has been receiving \$250,000 annually from Metro towards the upkeep of the Reference Library. Toronto consolidated its Reference and Circulating Libraries without consulting Metro, and asked that the grant be almost doubled. When Metro refused this increase the papers were advised that because Metro had "chopped" the Reference Library budget the Board would have to: "Reduce the hours of Canada's chief reference library from 66 to 35 a week; fire 15 librarians; close the Riverdale Library at Broadview and Gerrard, and St. Clement's on Yonge Street, just north of Keewatin Avenue". (33)

(33) Dick Snell, Toronto Daily Star, Monday, March 25, 1963.

No one was interested in what an extra subsidy to Toronto of \$7,000 or \$8,000 extra would do to the East York Library budget, amounting as it would to half our usual book purchases, and that is what it would have had to come from, since Library salaries and maintenance were fixed. East York had already increased its library grant that year by over a third⁽³⁵⁾ and Metropolitan Toronto was being asked to increase its grant by almost 50 percent, but no one pointed out that the Toronto Treasury Board had increased its own Library Board grant that year by only 6%⁽³⁴⁾.

It remained for one columnist⁽³⁶⁾ to reveal the secret:

"In closed session, the Toronto Board refused to meet the Library Board's budget. Its members were told to build a fire under the suburban members in the hope of fanning public sentiment."

Such differences are picayune indeed, but they get ground into the skins of politicians like emery dust until the whole contact surface is rough. The antithetical system was devised to allay the fears of suburbanites that they would be absorbed by an urban majority and the fears of the City that its resources would be exploited by the embattled suburbs. As a result, it had all the inflexible absurdities of a scheme designed to reassure and, thus, to

(34) From \$1,883,496 to \$1,991,390 (later adjusted upward).

(35) From \$93,441 to \$133,012 which would have had to be cut back to meet any extra Metro library costs.

(36) Ray Hill, Toronto Telegram, March 29, 1963.

reconfirm entrenched prejudices⁽³⁷⁾.

Bad Results of Organizational Inflexibility

Had the school boards of North York, Scarborough and Etobicoke not been arbitrarily consolidated by Bill 80,⁽³⁸⁾ they would have built schools which would have served as nuclei of new urban communities which would eventually have been incorporated as West Hill, Agincourt, Don Mills, Downsview, Thistleton, etc. Bill 80 made no provision for such community development in these growing areas or for its legal recognition if it appeared spontaneously. It may be pointed out that in thus omitting provision for boundary changes and the proper planning which would have made preparation for them in advance, Bill 80 implicitly assured the large developing suburbs of permanence, and thus encouraged them to build grandiose set-ups which are going to make any future

(37) The same difficulties are obvious in the United Nations where the provisions designed to safeguard one against the other have been used to divide rather than to unite, as pointed out by Allen Drury in "A Shade of Difference" ... "A great many of them just hoped to find one more mechanism for their own unchanging plans for world conquest. And their campaign to reduce the United Nations to just such a mechanism has made ominous and steady strides ever since. Endless debates, endless arguments, endless demands for impossible concessions, disorderly sessions of the General Assembly, frivolous demands for special sessions of the Security Council - there is no limit to the vicious ingenuity with which they frustrate the decent hopes of mankind."

(38) The Municipality of Metro Toronto Act, 1953, found in Chapter 73 of the Statutes of Ontario of 1953 and embodied in the Revised Statutes of Ontario of 1960 as Chapter 260 in the name of 'The Municipality of Metro Toronto Act', hereinafter known as Bill 80.

division even more difficult. (39)

In making this arbitrary consolidation with no provision for subsequent reorganization, Bill 80 ignored a specific recommendation

- (39) Costs for municipal buildings in the three larger suburbs are as follows:

North York's municipal buildings were originally at 5145 Yonge Street, Willowdale, and were built in 1923 for a cost of \$35,000.00. (This building is now used by the Hydro). Present municipal buildings are located at 5000 Yonge Street, Willowdale, and were built in three stages as below:

First wing, built in 1956:	\$ 600,000.
Second wing, built in 1959:	400,000.
Third wing, built in 1961:	<u>450,000.</u>
(latter includes air-conditioning throughout)	
Total, including equipment, sewer construction:	<u>\$1,800,000.</u>

Etobicoke's municipal building was originally at 4946 Dundas Street, W., purchased in 1887 - there is no record of the price paid for the property or the building.

In 1957 building commenced and moving was accomplished in 1958 into the present municipal building at 550 Burnhamthorpe Road, Etobicoke.

Total, including land, building, furnishings: \$2,395,428.

Scarborough's municipal building was originally rented during 1851; in 1921 and again in 1946 the offices were moved and new space rented from the Bank of Commerce and later from the General Engineering plant. In 1948 the township bought the "Geco" plant for \$25,000, using part of the premises and renting out the other areas (part of this is now retained and used for storage and warehousing and the Works Department).

In 1956 the present building at 2001 Eglinton East was erected at a cost of: \$ 850,000.
In 1961 an addition was built for 1,200,000.
Total, including land, building, etc. \$2,050,000.

of the Cumming Report^(39a)

"The need of future changes in the boundaries of the city and the twelve suburbs concerned in the applications must not be overlooked. In many cases these boundaries have been the result of purely arbitrary decisions or the result of temporary influences and do not now conform to natural or logical divisions of community interest. It is also possible that within some of the large municipalities the process of further division by separate incorporation may continue as in the past. It would appear that existing legislation provides an adequate method of making interior changes by way of annexation or even interior amalgamation in a proposed case. If further division by way of incorporation is desired the board now has the power to erect a village into a town and a town or township into a city if it has the necessary minimum population. The power to create a village, however, is now vested in the county council and if the suburbs are separate from the county it would seem necessary to transfer this power either to the Metropolitan Council or to this board as may be thought advisable. It seems desirable also that some method be provided to divide townships into smaller townships".

Bill 80 made such changes almost impossible by providing no

machinery for subsequent adjustment of representation in Metro. It gave no more opportunity for North York, Scarborough and Etobicoke to subdivide than for the Lakeshore communities to amalgamate, and thus representational inequalities have become more and more glaring and less and less susceptible of ready adjustment.

Dangers of impermanent divisions of powers

Coddly enough, while on the one hand concern for expediency was thus freezing the organization in forms and relations which should not have been permanent, on the other hand the distribution of powers between the local and central authority was left in a state of permanent uncertainty which encouraged bickering and irresponsibility.

To satisfy the disciples of local autonomy, the Metropolitan Government was assigned only the services which most clearly and unmistakably had to be co-ordinated on a more than local level-- primarily trunk roads, sewers and watermains. At the same time, to satisfy the amalgamationists the way was left open for Metro to absorb any services for which the amalgamationists could get a majority in the Metro Council.

Naturally they have found support among some public officials, who with natural pride in their work, believe they could take over much larger jobs and do them far more efficiently and economically. Naturally also, each Metro councillor has frequently been more interested in getting rid of responsibilities which were presenting

financial problems to his own municipality than in determining which services could be run more economically and more satisfactorily by Metro.

Not a year has passed without one or more such efforts to amalgamate some service or services.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Several times they have been successful, as with the police and licensing commissions.

(40) Formal consideration in special committee was as follows:

1955, Unification of police and fire, uniformity of licenses;
1956, Licensing;
1957, Unification of fire departments;
1958, Unification of area fire departments;
1959, Standardization of hours of closing;
1960, Special library committee;
1961, Special library committee, special committee on Metro affairs;
1962, Special library committee;
1963, Special library committee, special committee on education, requests for studies of unification of fire services and joint payment for Toronto fire boat, and of setting up a youth council, an ambulance service.

In 1962 the Metro Welfare committee recommended amalgamation of the mandatory welfare services, but this recommendation was reopened in 1963. There have been frequent demands that Metro take over certain less newsworthy forms of public entertainment and share in the costs of minor Toronto undertakings, and there have been discussions of the relative responsibilities of the City and Metro with regard to the new City Hall, the new Court House, the old City Hall, etc.

There have been motions regarding amalgamation of health and other services, and motions for various plebiscites which have not passed but which have caused considerable discussion.

Often they have led to financial adjustments. Often they have been turned down altogether. But always, whatever the outcome, many hours have been spent in wrangling which might more usefully have been devoted to study of existing responsibilities and establishment of policies regarding them.⁽⁴¹⁾ Thus, the attempt to placate two mutually contradictory sets of ideas in the end satisfied neither and led to continuous waste of time and exacerbation of relations.

Perhaps even worse than this development of mutual antagonisms was the temptation to deal in 'futures'. For example, when a community the size of the City of Toronto issues debentures for fire equipment which a community the size of East York would buy out of current income, it would be reasonable to suppose that it expects these debentures soon to be assumed by the Metropolitan area. Communities which fear amalgamation of educational services rush to get as much of their building programmes as possible under the wire in case a retrenchment policy should ensue. Thus proper financial planning is unlikely. Proper administrative planning is in an even worse state. It is impossible. How can one intelligently recruit staff,

(41) "The tragedy is that there is only so much time and concentration available from politicians, to say nothing of the tax money. While occupied with these dreams (and every department head of the city is going to have to prepare a long report on the joy of amalgamation) the real work has to be put aside. The real problems that might be solved have to be forgotten while everybody goes out carving totem poles." (A symbol to Mr. Haggart of myths in which people no longer really believe).

"City Council's Tribal Rites and Wrongs"

Ron Haggart, The Toronto Star, Feb. 22, 1963.

lay out office space, inaugurate new services (or decline to do so), buy new equipment (or decline to do so), when the Metropolitan Council is discussing taking over all or part of the service for which one is trying to make plans?

Thus, if the crying need in regard to distribution of representation is for greater flexibility, the crying need in regard to distribution of responsibilities is for greater security of tenure to permit intelligent long-range planning both at Metro and at local level.

Impermanence of Financial Solution

As for any attempt to solve the problem of financial disparities among area municipalities, expediency dictated that this hot potato be thrown directly into the reluctant hands of the new council and school board. This was asking too much of human nature.

School boards, for example, with their children moved out of their control, and hedged in with all sorts of restrictions, naturally moved to get all they could out of the deal whether they wanted it, or needed it, or not. School systems which had to help those less fortunate than themselves were not going to see new, bright, modern, efficient schools going up among their poorer neighbours and continue to use their own dingier, more old-fashioned buildings. School building costs pyramided - then skyrocketed.

The increase in the ceiling cost formula, from \$735, \$1,050 and \$1,350 for Public Elementary, Intermediate and Secondary schools respectively in 1955, to \$1,108, \$1,525 and \$1,860 for the same class of schools in 1964, is understandable in view of increasing costs.

It is less easy to understand the inclusion in public schools of cafeterias, home economics, industrial arts and general purpose rooms, and libraries. Each community has naturally tried to acquire as many of these extra facilities as possible. In order to maintain their 'superiority' of services, wealthier communities which could afford not to consider the ceiling cost formulas have gone to new heights of splendour in building and equipment. It has become a race to keep up with, or ahead of, the Joneses.

Education was only one of the services which perhaps needed financial controls lacking in Bill 80. Since there was no proper plan for phasing and development, Metro became a developer's paradise. Trunk roads, sewers and watermains went everywhere, and developments leapfrogged along and across them wherever land was cheap and zoning regulations easy or easily broken. Debenture costs soared and communities with low per capita assessments or poor industrial-residential ratios found that their share of Metro debenture debt on top of their own was making it difficult for them to get Ontario Municipal Board approvals for the most urgent necessities.

Public Transit problems

An additional complication and an added exasperation was provided by the T.T.C. Under the old dispensation it was impossible to think of the City apart from the street-car. The

framers of Bill 80 assumed amalgamation of the public transit service was as necessary and as simple as amalgamation of the arterial road system. The T.T.C. was, therefore, ordered to take over all suburban bus lines.

Unfortunately, no one seems to have taken into account the fact that the T.T.C. was not operated as a public service. Although a monopoly, and as such subject to certain pressures to establish or maintain uneconomic routes, it was expected, like a private enterprise, to pay its way.

Furthermore, although two retired politicians were added to the commission, there was no change in the thinking of the senior staff. The men who really ran the transit system still saw it as a means of getting workers and shoppers into the heart of the city and back out again. No attention was paid to the need for communications within the suburbs themselves.

The sharp cuts in suburban services, the two-mill subsidy chargeable across the entire area without regard to extra zone fares, and the indifference of the T.T.C. to suburban representations even on such trifling matters as location of bus stops, produced much friction in the Metropolitan Council.

The behaviour of commissioners and the political ramifications of T.T.C. policies kept transit problems in the forefront of public controversy, thus increasing the difficulty of solving them.

Summary

Other instances could be adduced but these should suffice to make the point. Bill 80 was an emergency measure to meet a grave situation. The city needed roads for its growing traffic. The outer suburbs needed water supplies and sewage outlets for their growing populations. Bill 80 devised a means of meeting these pressing needs with a minimum of alteration to the immediate situation and with what seemed to be a minimum of threat to prescriptive rights.

It was judged expedient, instead of making a final apportionment of responsibilities, to placate amalgamationists by leaving the way open for future changes. It was judged inexpedient to deprive even the smallest municipality in Metro of the right to be represented, or even to seem to threaten to do so by providing a procedure for adjusting representation. Thus Metro started off handicapped by the following:

1. A disproportionate system of representation not readily susceptible to amendment, which became more inequitable as population grew.
2. A set of basic powers and responsibilities susceptible to amendment at any time, keeping the metropolitan council and the area municipalities constantly on tenterhooks.

3. A financial system which intensified local rivalries and encouraged area municipalities to get what they could, since each believed any savings it made would be swallowed up by the needs of the others.
4. A transportation system which led to constant controversy over services and financing.

In spite of these handicaps, and proof that it met a real need, that it possessed a real vitality and that it commanded an underlying acceptance beneath the bickering, the Metro system has met the emergencies it was devised to meet. That it has created new problems in the process is partly due to certain factors inherent in the nature of representative government, particularly federal government, but partly due also to the failure to face long-term problems in the original set-up.

It is always easier to find a temporary expedient than a long-term solution, but postponement does not always make the long-term solution easier to find or more acceptable when found.

It is the hope of the township of East York that the Goldenberg Commission will recommend, and the Provincial Government adopt, a permanent arrangement in accordance with which the Metropolitan Council and the Area Municipalities can plan and work in an atmosphere of stability and responsibility.

"WHITHER"

"'Cheshire puss' she began
'Would you tell me, please, which way
I ought to go from here?'

'That depends a good deal on where
you want to get to' said the Cat."

- Alice in Wonderland.

The first section of this report has attempted to understand the growth and nature of the problems which led to the applications of the Town of Mimico and the City of Toronto to the Ontario Municipal Board in 1950, the Cumming Report on those applications, and Bill 80 which arose out of it. It has mentioned some of the difficulties caused by the failure of Bill 80 to find permanent solutions and has shown that although the current crises were successfully surmounted, no uniformity of goals has clarified itself.

Nowhere in the Cumming report or the comments of that period have we found any indication of the type of community into which it was hoped Metropolitan Toronto would grow. There was, and has been ever since, much discussion of economy and efficiency of administration under this, that or the other scheme, but almost no discussion of the type of metropolitan area which it is hoped to produce. The Gathercole Report⁽¹⁾ is even emptier of indications of

(1) A Report on the Metropolitan Toronto system of government, prepared by the Ontario Department of Economics, Nov. 1961, herein cited by its popular short title as the Gathercole Report.

social and cultural goals being merely a financial analysis of three rigid alternatives proposed by the then Metro Chairman, Mr. Frederick G. Gardiner, Q.C. There is much current talk of amalgamation versus a borough system and the pros and cons of unifying this, that, or the other service, but no one has even attempted to establish the criteria on which decisions in these matters should be based.

Yet Schuyler C. Wallace⁽⁴⁾ states that "the organization of administration turns in large measure upon the purposes to which it is to be dedicated", and this seems reasonable. It is not efficient to speed along the fastest freeway in the world if you want a leisurely drive to see as much as possible of some beautiful countryside. It is not efficient if it brings you several hours early to an appointment at a spot offering no facilities for rest, lunch, etc. Above all, it is not efficient if it does not take you to your destination. To plan your trip efficiently, you must know where you want to go, and when, and how.

When a patient is seriously ill, his treatment and cure are of over-riding importance. When he is functioning comparatively normally again, physically, there will be time for him to decide what he wants to do with his life. But if he never faces the latter problem, he can

(4) "Basic Issues of Public Administration", MacMillan, N.Y., 1961, p. 10, citing 'Federal Departmentalization: A Critique of Theories of Organization', Columbia University Press, 1941, pp. 227 - 38.

develop a psychological 'malaise' quite as dangerous to his whole being as the mere physical maladjustment.⁽⁵⁾

In 1950, Metropolitan Toronto was seriously ill. It is the second danger which the area now faces.

This section of our statement proposes to suggest some of the values which make an urban community good to live in, the underlying principles and long-term needs of local government which the Cumming Report felt were outside its terms of reference.

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- (5) Denis O'Harrow, Exec. Director of the American Society of Planning Officials, in an address to the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities on June 2, 1961, spoke of "civic psychology" as follows:

"I believe urban renewal will prove to be totally successful only in cities that have a well-adjusted civic personality....."

"The truly well-adjusted individual .. clearly knows what he is doing, where he is going, and why he is doing what he is doing and going where he is going. Translated into civic psychology, the well-adjusted city is fully aware and purposeful, with a clear objective. Or to reveal my bias, it has a plan and every step it takes forwards the realization of that plan."

"One of the most disabling diseases in civic psychology is projectitis. In earlier days, and even today, a common symptom was a wild civic enthusiasm over some big and showy project, like a colosseum or a stadium. I know of one small city in the Dakotas that got all worked up and built an auditorium that had about four seats for every man, woman, and child in the city. It was built with the help of that memorable depression cure of ours, W.P.A. It was completed during the summer. Then along came the winter, the Dakota winter, and the city found there was not enough money in the municipal treasury to heat the place. So there it sat, cold, bleak and empty during the entire winter."

"I am afraid that urban renewal .. is just another symptom of the same disease -- projectitis."

What sort of city do we want to live in? And how can we make it that sort of city for as many of our citizens as possible?

On Friday, January 3, 1964, as this brief was being put together, the Reverend Glynn Firth of Bathurst United Church posed this question in striking form:

"The achievements of and defeats of mankind are both raised to the nth degree in the cities man has built. The city is a gathering place. A concentration point for all that is best and worst in human culture. Just think of what Toronto has to offer you live music by great artists, libraries, paintings, exciting stores with products from the ends of the earth, theatre, movies from many lands, spectacles on the sports field the skill, variety and colour represented in all these activities just take your breath away. It provides us with a centre for intellectual stimulation .. this metropolis in which we live has brought together writers, artists, philosophers, scientists, theologians, people highly trained in the arts and services of our civilization. The city offers you a richer and more varied life than you can find anywhere else. This is what I love about the city. And this is why I respond to its stimulations so enthusiastically.

"But, in the city, we also see one of the central issues of our time being fought out. The city is built by man's skill, and our skills have now increased enormously. In this century, we can quite literally fly to the moon ...

"We are able to do just about anything, but we don't know where this is taking us. We have developed a complex and marvelous industrial machine which is running out of control. We are the prisoners of our own techniques and skills. We allow ourselves to be dominated by our machines, and the industrial enterprise behind them, precisely because we have not decided what purpose our techniques will serve." (6)

Size and Excitement

On the surface, of course, we all want money or the things that money can buy - or the position to which money and the things it can buy raise us. We seem to worship size - tall buildings, great parks, huge expressways, big corporations, large glittering automobiles. We seem feverishly mobile, always looking for a spot where we can get more and give less in return. But we seem also, in many cases, frustrated and unhappy, subject to tensions producing physical and mental ill health.

In the days when Mayor Hiram McCallum was attempting to win friends for Toronto, Maclean's Magazine published a wicked little cartoon. It showed Toronto as a ballooning dowager, her fat fingers loaded with diamonds, her fat throat collared with pearls, occupying nine-tenths of an all-too-dainty settee. Beside her a little scared-looking man occupied a precarious perch. Underneath was the hilarious caption, "She only wants to be loved".

(6) Plain Talk, C.B.L., Toronto.

(7a)

Of course, if Toronto is Hogtown, we're all Hogtown.

We're the same people. Many members of the Toronto council and staff live in the suburbs. Many members of suburban councils work in Toronto. Any suburbanites who've been around these parts for forty or fifty years have probably sojourned for a time in the city. If anybody's a materialist, we're all materialists. But in reality, perhaps this materialism is merely skin deep. Perhaps we don't want to be hogs. We've just acquired the habit.

Of course we all want jobs for without them we cannot live and a large city is apt to offer the greatest variety and opportunity of work. We want due rewards for our work and the things these rewards can buy. But man does not live by bread alone. The use of such words as civil, polite and urbano suggest that the city early came to symbolize a freer and more beautiful way of life than was possible outside it. The city symbolizes glamour and excitement, the attitude of Dryden and Pope and Mr. Stewart Bates⁽⁷⁾:

"I hate the brook that murmurs at my feet,
Give me a kennel in St. James's Street,
And if on sultry days we pant for air,
The sundry breezes of St. James's Square."

(7) President, C.M.H.C., November 3, 1958, to the University of Toronto Round Table on "Man and Industry".

(7a) We are. The Metro submission to the Province of Ontario respecting subsidies for the Metropolitan Transportation plan (passed on February 11, 1964, while this statement was being checked, with only 6 dissenting voices) is a striking proof.

Metropolitan Toronto should offer us first of all then Dunsany's lighted inn where the camel-drivers assemble to drink skabash; Baudelaire's "Fourmillante cité, cité pleine de rêves"; Browning's city square with its fountains, church bells, diligence, travelling doctor, Punch and Judy shows, religious processions and Duke's guard; the giddy little street where Miss Thompson went shopping.

Beauty and Variety

Beauty is of many kinds. East York, by and large, looks like "an old-fashioned village":

"East York is full of neat little houses
On modest pieces of well-kept land" (8)

But we have a round library with clerestory windows and a unique story-room. We have an indoor garden in our municipal building with a fountain, plants and statuary, and two interestingly planted inner courts. We have a pylon in our civic square with a much discussed collection of lighted trash assembled by Gerry Gladstone at an immoderate price and known as a "Modern Galaxy". Our Memorial Gardens are considered very fine. The floating staircase in the new wing of our collegiate has an airy grace unusual in public buildings. We think this variety is good. We want a lot more of it.

The beauty of fine architecture differs from the beauty of parks, and the beauty of a gay bazaar from the beauty of an exclusive shopping area. We consider it tragic

(8) See Christmas card (1961) on following page. This and the 1963 Christmas card which accompanies it are both attempts to express the spirit of the community.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

that the "Village" is being uprooted to provide hospital parking. Quaintness has a value as well as majesty

All roads cannot have the tree-lined brilliance of the Champs Elysées, but good design (instead of none) for a necessary gasoline station, a neat hedge around a parking lot or a tree at one side of it, a good system of trash disposal, and proper sign control, can make the difference between an attractive street and what looks like the road to ruin.

Although developers usually think in terms of hotels, Torontonians actually are equally fond of cozy hideaways, exotic little restaurants, tea courts, picnic tables and barbecues.

In our hearts we deplore conformity and regimentation but when we yearn for beauty, we get University Avenue or the Royal York. Perhaps it is imagination we need, or leisure, or the cosmopolitan experience our new citizens are bringing us, but we must open our minds to new ideas as Egerton Ryerson did when he went travelling. (8a)

We should like to see the utmost possible freedom left to each community to develop in its own way. We believe that there is value in having a number of communities which offer different environments, present different challenges, experiment with different services and seek different paths

(8a) This Methodist local preacher brought home sweet wines for his own table as well as replicas of improperly clothed statues for educational purposes.

to beauty. Only in this way can a metropolitan area truly find itself. In short, Metro should offer, as London did to T.S. Eliot, an ever-varied panorama of neighbourhoods and communities:

"Eliot, having always been a town-dweller, confesses to ingrown urban habits, and London has (or had) characteristics which make it, to him, 'preferable to any other metropolis in the world', that he knows: 'it is still to a great extent' he wrote in 1932 'a collection of villages the borders of which touch, each retaining a local character of its own'. He did not need to be told, he said, that a number of London villages he had in mind were scandalously filthy and ought to be torn down; he knew that quite well, and was not simply indulging a taste for the picturesque slum. But there was something he abhorred, and perhaps rightly, more than the slum, and that was the 'endless line of houses along a ribbon road over which passes a ceaseless stream of cars'.⁽⁹⁾

Metro should take a large part in the development and enrichment of its central core, which might be defined as the comparatively small area from Bloor to the Waterfront, and from Jarvis to Spadina, since this comprises most of what makes us a large, exciting metropolitan city. We should surround it with strands of communities and neighborhoods, differing in size and character, but all throbbing

(9) T. S. Eliot by Kristian Smidt, p. 25.

with a life of their own. We should plan for centres of interest and excitement in all these communities, which will move people across boundaries at all hours, instead of merely at rush hours. Thus we would develop the metropolitan feeling, the air of excitement and urgency, which characterizes the truly great metropolises of the world.

But if what we want most obviously from the city is beauty, glamour, excitement, the rarest and best, it is not all we want. We want a good physical background in which to live the good life. We want surroundings in which we can feel secure - if there is any security left in this world - both physically and psychologically. We want variety, familiarity and strangeness for work and leisure. Let's consider these needs also.

Good Facilities

To create the good physical environment for the good life is the task of planning, roads and traffic, works and other departments, but we should keep asking ourselves and reminding ourselves as we plan policy and pare budgets, what are the essentials? Are 'hyacinths to feed our souls' as essential as bread, and if so, is there any consensus as to what really constitutes a hyacinth?

This could be the subject of week-long workshops which might be entitled, like last year's Couchiching Conference, "Values in Conflict", but perhaps the major questions boil themselves down to three:

1. "What kind of housing is appropriate to a city?"
2. "What is the respective importance of motor cars and men?"

3. "What institutions and procedures are essential to the physical safety of the urban dwellers?"

Mr. Firth, in the broadcast quoted above, pointed out that:

"Urban life, while it may enable man to live a truly human existence, also destroys and threatens human values," and of the two major threats he placed bad housing first, with motor cars a close second.

"Because we refuse to get around to realistic thinking about the houses in which our people live, we force thousands of people in this city to live in miserable flats and apartments which degrade and destroy family life. The poor of Toronto pay an enormous percentage of their income for accommodation which is shockingly bad.....this city needs a public housing program which will be designed to enable men and women to live in dignity and beauty, and it needs it now.

"But a city is more than houses. Its streets are just as important. And when you look at our streets you see automobiles - thousands of them. When you look at Bloor, Avenue Road or Eglinton your primary visual impression is not of people but of cars, and your eyes are not lying Here is a prime example of how we have allowed a mechanical device to dominate and destroy human values. We find it very odd that in the cities of India a cow can lie down in the middle of the street and all the people and the vehicles will very carefully by-pass it. Well, Kingsley Martin said the automobile is the sacred cow of North American life and

he was right. We have got to decide if the centre of the city is to be for man, or for one of his mechanical toys. At the moment, the car is winning, hands down, and the central area of the city will soon be a vast desert of parking lots as we continue to destroy our ravines in order to build expressways which will pour more and more vehicles into the urban centre - the most expensive and least sensible form of transportation which we could devise. If the heart of the city is to be a place in which people can live as human beings, with parks, buildings, theatres and stores arranged in a viable and beautiful combination, then we have to keep the automobile out where it belongs, in the suburbs and on the highways.

"With the enormous scientific knowledge and skill which is now at our disposal, there is no earthly reason why we cannot build cities which are clean, healthy, spacious and even quiet!"

He went on to speak of water pollution, dirty air and inadequate space for relaxation.

Mr. Firth is but one of many sensitive and conscientious critics who have recently been pointing up the defects of our urban environment. It is easier to point them out than to solve them. However, a few comments may help to clarify our thinking about them.

1. Housing. The home has for centuries been regarded as the vital centre of life: "An Englishman's house is his castle", "Ta valeur .. protègera nos foyers et nos droits",

13

even "A home of one's own". Someplace where one can be oneself, where there can be togetherness. Functional. Space for one's needs. Sanitary (not necessarily tidy nor even clean). Comfort - to one an original painting over an open fireplace, between bookshelves; to another a crepe paper doll over the telephone and a scenic lamp on the T.V. beside a platform rocker; to another an easel and a northern light with a convenient hot plate to minimize interruptions; to yet another a spacious reception room in ivory and gold with double doors opening into the conservatory. Some want an apartment with no furnace to feed, no grass to cut. Others will take on a corner lot with double snow shovelling for the sake of air and light. In short, what we need in housing is the widest possible variety in the widest possible price range.

Accommodation for people, to be satisfactory, must not only meet the physical, financial, and other needs which they experience as individuals. It must also, for most of them, provide certain basic social needs such as companionship in the midst of the impersonal bigness of the city, rootedness in the midst of its excessive mobility. For millionaires, ambassadors and university presidents there may be a community of their peers through which they move almost unrestrictedly. Most of us need, for our own mental health, a smaller area and group with which we can identify ourselves, and the good city should provide a wide variety of neighbourhoods as well as of housing.

This does not necessarily mean vast urban renewal projects or even public housing on a large scale, though both of these will be mentioned in a subsequent section.

Our aim is not to make our city an ant-hill or a beehive. The ideal city will provide as many of its citizens as possible with what they want most within the limits of what they can afford, not put them into the sort of homes architects or even social workers think they should have.

Motor Cars and Men.

The car is to-day the rival of the home. To many in our mobile civilization it is actually more essential. In Metropolitan Toronto, whatever lip service is paid, and at enormous cost, to public transport, the whole orientation of plans and planners is towards accommodation and movement of cars.

This is unfortunate. The provision of roads is like the provision of many other services. The more people have the more they want.

Common sense tells us that cars don't belong on downtown streets any more than riding-horses or St. Bernard dogs. The latter belong on country roads, or at least on special trails. Perhaps the same is true of cars.

Certainly as long as Metropolitan traffic engineers

refuse to allow member municipalities to protect their local roads in residential communities, the most elegant malls, the most capacious parking areas and the finest subways and taxi service in the world will not entirely solve down-town traffic problems. Indeed, another quarter century may well confront us with an additional need for many helicopter landings.

Since cars present an air pollution problem as well as a problem of congestion and clutter, the ideal city must surely try to control their increase and limit their use.

Institutions and Procedures

Many permutations and commutations are possible here, and different neighbourhoods may accept different priorities. With a limited staff, is snow removal more or less urgent in winter than the second weekly garbage collection? What makes the newspapers⁽¹³⁾ so sure that a grade 7 boy in Mimico who doesn't have "the benefits of a science lab, music room and specialist teachers" may not do just as well as the grade 7 boy in Toronto who has them? Isn't it true that many of the leaders of our country received their primary education in small country schools where they did not have the benefit of one teacher for every grade?

(13) Editorial in Toronto Daily Star, December 11, 1962; typical of many in all three papers.

What makes the papers so sure that nurses are incapable of taking charge of baby clinics or that free dental care should be available to all children throughout the Metro area?

Basic fire and police protection, disease immunization, sewage disposal, water supply, food inspection, and traffic control, are essential, and school children must have classrooms and teachers - but parks and recreational facilities, paved roads, curbs and sidewalks, libraries and other cultural facilities, welfare services and many other amenities have to be considered in relation to each other and in the light of varied neighbourhood needs, desires and capacities to pay. Standardization of individuals and neighbourhoods beyond the basic essentials is surely as dull and depressing as would be standardization of their meals and clothing.

East York believes that all the essentials of the good life, which we have noted, will best be achieved by intelligent, informed and interested local planning for good and varied neighbourhoods which will provide many opportunities for new experiences within the metropolitan area, with inspiring leadership in the few major undertakings and responsibilities which require the concerted efforts of the entire metropolis.

The total picture

For true urban renewal, we should plan the entire Metro area with imaginative variety. The central core should be the essence of urban life at its tensest and

most exciting. The surrounding area should provide a variety of satisfying environments for what one man⁽¹⁴⁾ has listed as the things men live by, work and play and love (friendship, neighbourliness) and worship.

The area between Jarvis Street and St. George and between Bloor and the waterfront should be built up with the most glorious dreams an architect can realize and install: the new city hall, the new education centre, the growing university, the complex of buildings housing the Provincial Government and the Federal Services, the courts of justice, the major hotels, great cathedrals, brilliant theatres, art gallery, museum and other cultural monuments and the towering structures housing the head offices of banks, insurance companies and other financial and industrial organizations, through which beats the life blood of our financial and economic existence. This is an area which we should all help to support and so should all help to plan, and of which we should all feel proud, and it should be as great and beautiful as we can make it with a clean new waterfront and a magnificent island park to decorate its approaches. No further expressways should be allowed to desecrate its invaluable real estate and waste its golden space in cluttered and ugly parking lots. There should be no parking whatever in this area except underground, and the taxi companies allowed to operate here should maintain a high standard of

(14) Richard Clarke Cabot.

appearance and service. This is the front door of Toronto and its show window.

Surrounding this central core should be a bevy of communities, those strange organisms which irk the Metro Planning Board and Metro officials but which are a necessity if man is to live a sane and happy life. (15)

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- (15) "The more people an individual knows, meaning juvenile or adult, the less likely that person is to commit a crime.

"Crime is prevalent in crowded downtown districts in big cities largely because of the high degree of anonymity a person has.

"In a small town, where everybody knows everybody else, this familiarity acts as a deterrent". -- Inspector Ralph Boot,
Metro Youth Bureau,
Toronto Telegram.

"The unfolding of individual lives requires a smaller and more substantial base than the sprawling universe of business and trucks and work and communications and managements. The Metropolitan City is a stimulating external environment, but a good place in which to stay and live must have a more static and focused character. Our private lives thrive on personal relationships that are companionable rather than gregarious, arm-in-arm rather than bumper-to-bumper. The events and scenes of daily life evoke emotions of attachment and possession, memory and continuity. People and places become identified with one another. If we have become restless gypsies in the modern city, it is not for the lack of the primitive desire to become attached to a place; it is because the physical form of the community in the suburbs has not commanded attention and devotion.

"Within the great Regional City, people look for a place to live that has concentration and meaning and permanence. Forces of dispersal may govern the physical Metropolis but the people themselves have a natural inclination to gather around centres of human attachment." - Humphrey Carver,
Cities in the Suburbs,
University of Toronto Press
1962, pp. 71 - 2

A plan which had as its aim a good life for the people of Toronto might well attempt to find as many centres as possible for such communities and attempt to build them up around these centres. To discard the boundaries of the smaller municipalities altogether is sheer waste. They may need considerable modification. Smaller ones may need to be enlarged and larger ones to be cut down, but the nuclei are everywhere across this great metropolitan area, and are well-known to those who know Metro from living in it and being a part of such communities, and not merely from studying lists of statistics and drawing lines across the maps.

If we want our city to be a good place to live in, we want the air to be clear of smoke pollution and the rivers of water pollution, the ravines to be clear of garbage and weeds. We have to get away from the idea that man has a right to do what he likes with his own land. He has no more right to destroy the character of a modest residential development by hemming it in with apartment buildings than he has to spoil the value of a commercial street by putting a pig pen on it.

The work which has been done on major networks of sewers and watermains is invaluable. Sewers and watermains are the sine qua non of health under our present congested living conditions. They do not affect the arrangements of our life except when they are inadequate.

Roads are a different matter. If roads are to serve our purposes, we must know where we want to go and when and why and how.

Certainly there must be communication from the neighbourhoods down to the core which belongs to all of us and of which we are all proud. But this must be organized in such a way as not to destroy the communities themselves or the core into which they feed. By and large, the place of the expressways is around the perimeter where they aid through traffic to bypass congested districts and where they provide convenient means of transfer for commuters to subways or commuter trains. We have already committed ourselves to billion dollar expressway programmes that serve only to increase congestion and destroy tremendous extents of valuable land on which there might be taxable assessment. Let us not allow our megalomania to lead us into any more commitments of this kind.

Summing up, then, the ideal suggested for Metro is a rich centre core ringed with a string of varied, and as far as possible autonomous, communities each with its own special attractions; where mobility is not inconsistent with safety, where the human personality is not subordinated to political monuments, and where an individual can find contentment and a sense of being at home. If the pace of growth must be slowed up somewhat to ensure this, that is a price we should be willing to pay. One of the most endearing qualities of Toronto has always been her emphasis on the old-fashioned importance of home, church and ethical behaviour. Let's make Lady Eaton our archetype, not Elizabeth Taylor.

III

AMALGAMATION

"But glory doesn't mean a nice knock-down argument," Alice objected.

"When I use a word", Humpty Dumpty said in a rather scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean - neither more nor less."

- Alice In Wonderland

One of the most widely touted approaches to the ideal city is amalgamation, which we are told would give everybody everything anybody now has and at the same time lower the tax rate for everybody.

What is this wondrous panacea and how does it work?

Well, it is not unlike Humpty-Dumpty's glory, and different interpretations can be put upon the word by different egg-heads in just the way Humpty-Dumpty suggests.

Definitions

Among the most ardent advocates of "amalgamation" are the newspapers - so much so that people go about stating positively, if inaccurately, that they would be able to charge higher prices for their advertising if they published in a larger city. (1) However, while chastising for parochialism the suburbs which do not wish to lose their identity, the newspapers also chastise the City and Metro for mistakes due more to unwieldy size than to individual inefficiency.(2)

(1) Instead of the advertising charges being geared to the circulation as is actually the case.

(2) E.g. The huge Toronto Works Department, only recently consolidated, and being split up, as this brief is finalized, because the consolidation created difficulties instead of improving efficiency. Also the recent removal of the wrong houses for the Metropolitan Roads Department on a mistaken order by the City Purchasing Department. Also the recent doubling of the costs of expropriating land for a Metropolitan road widening project, because of either leaving the houses out of the initial calculations or changing the requirements during the process.

That they fail to recognize their own illogic may be partly because candidates who run for election in larger areas are very dependent on newspapers and therefore very subject to pressure. Newsmen who wish to govern from their offices instead of through a mandate from the electors could like this situation. To them amalgamation clearly means one government elected across the entire metropolitan area, candidates for which can be backed on one 'slate'.

Unification would not necessarily preserve the present ward divisions of either city or suburbs. Indeed in the view of politicians as different as Reeve Goodhead of North York and Councillor Leslie Saunders of East York (3) amalgamation should be followed by a complete reorganization and equalization of representation throughout the area.

This does not seem, however, to be the picture in the minds of the Toronto Council who have throughout been strongly vocal supporters of amalgamation. Members of the Toronto Council appear to envisage "amalgamation" as absorption of the remaining municipalities into whatever wards Toronto prefers. They picture the taxes from the additional areas as being applied to the city hall, the central library, the plush schools which are replacing the obsolescent downtown ones, and the supererogatory art centre. Meanwhile, they apparently think the new areas will be so proud to be admitted to a share in the sponsorship of this magnificence that they will meekly wait for the crumbs which may eventually fall to their share.

(3) Mr. Saunders is a former Mayor of Toronto with experience on every level of municipal office. He presented a brief along these lines to the Select Committee of the Ontario Legislature on the Municipal Act and Related Acts.

Such misconceptions are ridiculed by Ron Haggart in an article on "City Council's Tribal Rites and Wrongs." (4) He speaks of "ancient tribal customs.....Maori dances....Haidas totem-carvers.....dying out under the conforming pressures of Western Civilization.....because the fears and the aspirations on which they are founded have long since passed, the dances and the carvings can have little meaning except for purposes of amusement and self-identification.

"No such danger of a cultural blackout afflicts the members of the Toronto City Council. They have retained, lo these many years, the most quaint of their ancient tribal rites...

"The major folk dance of the Toronto Council is called amalgamation. Its forms are so specialized and intricate that only the chiefs of the tribal ccouncil itself can still perform it.....

"Few members of the Toronto tribe care about amalgamation any more, and many do not even know what it means. Only the tribal chiefs (and the scribes) keep it alive ...

"The tribal chiefs of Toronto want to make one big city out of Toronto and its 12 suburbs. But they do not really mean that they want to amalgamate with the suburbs - they want to swallow them whole.

"The Toronto folk rite of amalgamation is based on the ancient myth that the city can garner the tax revenue from the new suburbs without spending it all to build roads and schools in those suburbs. In this way the city can make a 'profit'."

Just why it should be felt by intelligent Torontonians that their growing financial problems would be solved by unification is difficult to understand. Under Metro the finances of the older member municipalities make a contribution towards part of the cost of essential services, including education,(5) in the expanding suburbs. Under a unified system the finances of the present City would contribute to the total cost not only of essentials but of desirable amenities such as libraries, swimming pools, community centres, optional welfare services, etc., which are now borne totally by member municipalities and on which they are now spending somewhat less lavishly than Toronto. Add to these increases those arising from the inevitable demand for standardization of all services at the highest level of cost - not necessarily of satisfaction - teachers' salaries as in Etobicoke; teachers' educational standards as in Forest Hill; school buildings as in Toronto; free, large-scale recreational facilities as in Toronto; libraries and library services as in Toronto, etc., it seems inevitable that tax rates would soar everywhere.

(5) An assumption by Metro of all the school building debentures for the past ten years would have added in 1963 only .17 mills to the Toronto tax rate, an indication that Toronto is spending as fast as any other municipality.

Even the Gathercole Report (6) feels it necessary to warn about this. It emphasizes that its computations do not include any allowance for possible demands by the suburban municipalities for the same quantity and quality of services enjoyed by the City of Toronto. (7)

(6) Page 7. It is interesting to note that according to the figures in the Gathercole Report (p.34) Toronto would lose less than .082 mills per education assessment dollar which she would more than make up by general purposes savings, if the suburbs helped to pay for her expensive services without seeking to have them duplicated locally.

(7) That some of the members of the Toronto Council may have begun to recognize this problem is shown by their statements of February 3, 1961, in the Special Committee of the Metropolitan Council on Metropolitan Affairs:

a) "Mr. Phillips stated that he does not intend to say whether or not he is in favour of amalgamation until independent scientific reports have been received and this committee has examined such reports.

b) "Mr. Beavis indicated that he has heard no concrete evidence as to how amalgamation would benefit the City of Toronto, which now has all its services and roads. He stated that until he is shown that there is a better form of government that would lessen the burden on the taxpayers of the City of Toronto, he can see no reason to favour amalgamation, and would prefer to maintain the Metropolitan system with some modifications.

c) "Mr. Ostrander commented that so far he has heard no evidence to indicate why amalgamation should or should not take place and accordingly, he would like to obtain more information as to how amalgamation would come into force and how it would affect all of the municipalities."

What is more, the rather irresponsible motion supported by all three of these gentlemen when the Special Committee made its final report on December 13, 1961, sponsored only a four-city plan "or an" plan deemed advisable by the Province of Ontario in the interests of the area as a whole subject to the further comprehensive study as to the implementation and financial effects of the establishment of such a four-city or other form of government."

It seemed to some of us that they heaved a sigh of relief when even this was defeated. The plight of Mr. Phillips is amusingly suggested by the Macpherson cartoon on the following page.-



a Christmas Wish

Between the factories of Toronto and Leaside,
North York's and Scarboro's looming towers,
East York has grown like an old-fashioned village
Where friendships flourish and children and flowers.

East York is full of neat little houses
On modest pieces of well-kept land
With neighbours to offer across the fences
A piece of their minds or a helping hand.

But when Christmas lights are on all our houses
And Christmas smiles are on every face,
And Christmas happiness glows inside us
East York is then the most wonderful place.

So to all within and without the Township
I wish a Christmas of East York cheer
And a neighbourly hand and heart to greet you
Wherever you go in the coming year.



True Davidson

203 Woodmount Ave., Toronto 6



203 WOODMOUNT AVENUE

Season's Greetings



An East York Greeting

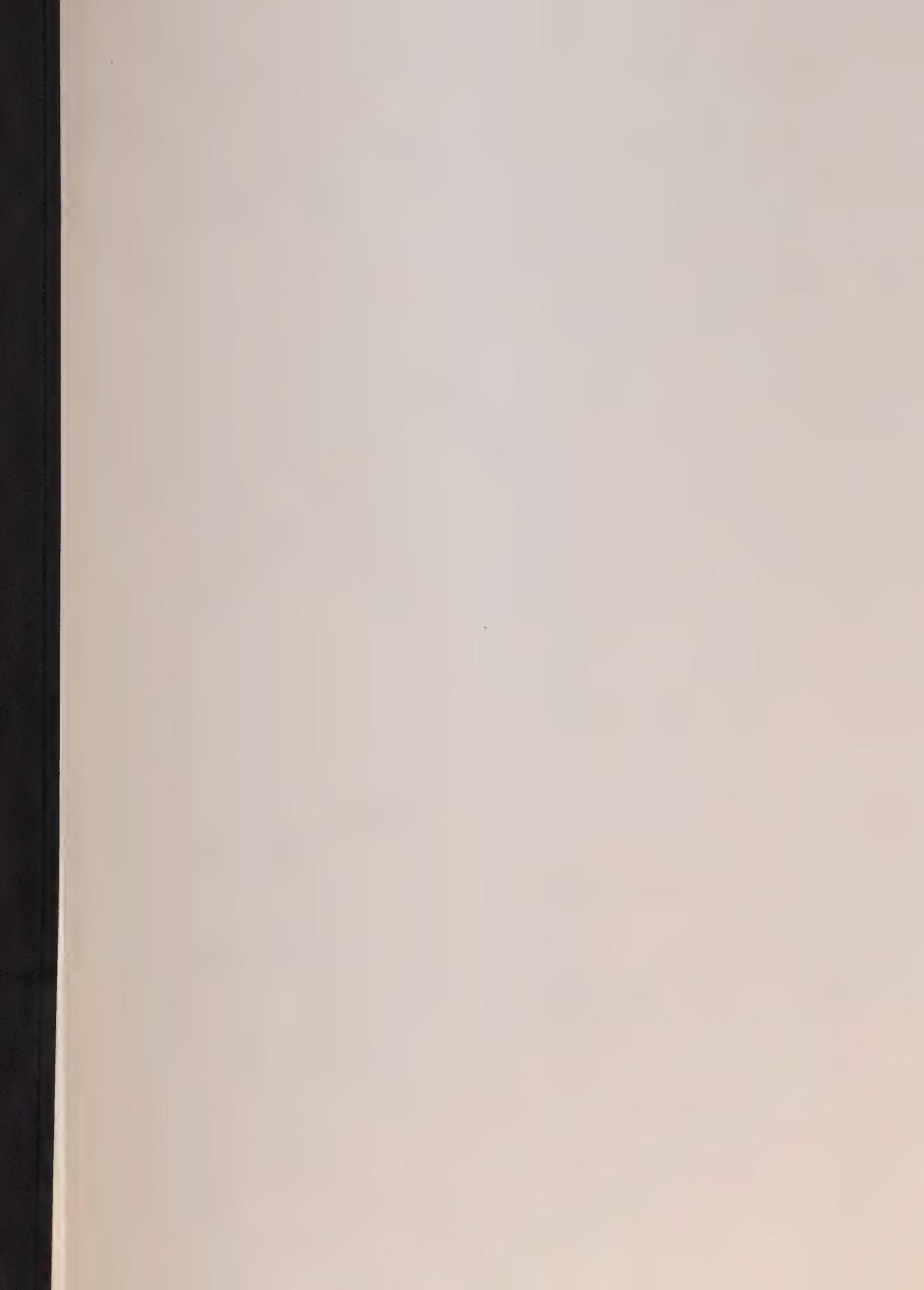
Christmas has, at its heart's core,
Warmth and light and an open door,
Where the young go out to strive and seek,
And welcome waits for the old and weak.

Here in East York our hearts are bright
As the lovely lines of Christmas light,
Where labour is love, and far is near,
And the Christmas spirit lasts all year.

TRUE DAVIDSON



"IN WITH YOU!"



(8)

Toronto is subject to more pressures than any of the other member municipalities of Metro on account of its size and prominence, and it was not allowed to let the matter drop in 1962. Amalgamation suddenly became a burning issue (started, perhaps, like most fires, with the aid of newspapers) and the Toronto Council decided, almost unanimously, on the motion of the Mayor, to apply to the Municipal Board for total amalgamation.

Metropolitan officials, unlike Toronto aldermen, appear to favour an amalgamation arising from extension after extension of the powers and responsibilities of the Metropolitan government. This gradual assumption of powers and responsibilities is unfondly known in the suburbs as "creeping amalgamation". (9) Only the setting up of the present Commission to study the Metropolitan set-up has put a temporary stop to the spate of studies (10) on unification of welfare services, fire departments, ambulance services, health services, education, libraries, etc.

(8) For example, under pressure from the Labour Council, it has agreed to hire only union contractors. Under pressure from the residents of Toronto Island it has changed its position on the use of the west end of that park, a position established and unquestioned over a long period of time. Under pressure from the Health League it resumed a grant to them after Metro refused to continue it, although it certainly was in no sense a Toronto responsibility.

(9) This is the recommendation of the Toronto Labour Council as forwarded in their letter to Metropolitan and Toronto City Councils (suburban councils are evidently too insignificant to merit their attention) on July 25, 1961:

"Your committee . . . reaffirms the position that outright amalgamation is the proper answer. To smooth the transition from Metro to amalgamation, there should be a speed-up in the merger of Planning, Welfare, Roads, Parks, Fire and other departments.

(10) See note 40 in Section I.

Still another approach to "amalgamation" has been evolved in the course of the dizzying gyrations of Reeve Norman Goodhead of North York. (11) This is amalgamation to be followed by decentralization. It involves a complete washing out of present boundaries and a division into an uncertain number of areas (four? eight?) which would elect members directly to the Metropolitan council. They would also elect local committeees or subsidiary councils whose duties would be "chiefly administrative." Whether or not these were identical with their representatives to the Metropolitan council was not always clear to all listeners.

His startling suggestion of a Metro divided into four quarters along Yonge Street and Eglinton Avenue seems not to have fully penetrated the minds of those who hailed him as a convert, but there are members of the Toronto Council whose certainty as to the advisability of immediate and total "amalgamation" has been severely shaken by the variety of his helpful hints for its implementation.

In fact, however, Reeve Goodhead's proposal, hailed by the Telegram and the Toronto Council as a product of pro-amalgamation enlightenment is basically not so different from that of Controller Wm. L. Archer, Q.C., castigated by the same two authorities as a renegade anti-amalgamationist. Controller Archer (12) hopes to see . . ."a NEW METRO Council, that can be easily recognized and which shall have full jurisdiction as an area council to make area decisions. Combined with this will be District Councils that may make local decisions which will not frustrate action on an area basis, nor be in conflict with area-wide decisions."

(11) For examples, see newspaper clippings on following page.

(12) Address to Bloor District Business Men, Inc., Feb.10,1964

Study Will Advocate 5 Boroughs: Goodhead

North York Reeve Norman Goodhead last night predicted that a Royal commission investigating the future of Metropolitan Toronto would recommend five boroughs that would cut across traditional boundaries.

Speaking in a panel discussion give personal government to all on amalgamation sponsored by parts of the area and provide the North York Community an equal tax rate, equality of Council, Mr. Goodhead predicted services and equal educational the commission would recom-

mend that Etobicoke be ex- Scarboro Reeve A. M. Campbell panded to include all municipalities west of the Humber River. Goodhead's prediction would

Scarboro would remain the same, but Toronto would be cut always would be a voter interest back to include the area from maintaining historical boun-

the lakefront to St. Clair Ave. daries. York Township would include the area between St. Clair Ave. with Toronto remaining much as Lawrence Ave. and North it is, with perhaps the loss of its York would extend from Law northern panhandle to North rence Ave. in the Canadian York. Etobicoke would be ex- National Railways bypass, Mi panded to take in the lakeshore Goodhead forecast.

This, he said, was not a division that he would like to see. He would prefer to see Metro ship would be expanded to take divided into four quarters, with Forest Hill and Weston, and Yonge St. and Eglinton Ave. the East York would combine with boundary lines. Under Mr. Goodhead.

Now Goodhead's

North York Reeve Nor man Goodhead last night hedged on his recent switch to the pro-amalgamation camp.

He pledged full support to his council's decision to back a four or five borough system of government for Metro.

Reeve Goodhead, the original arch-foe of amalgamation, changed dramatically earlier this year when he came out for a one-government "super-council" with a "super-mayor" over four administrative divisions.

LOCAL AUTONOMY

But last night he said he always meant for the administrative divisions to have full local autonomy.

The reeve's new tack came at a North York com-

munity council panel-debate on amalgamation and was a direct appeal to gain the confidence of his council and North York residents.

Coun. Gordon Hurlbert said the sudden move "indicates the benevolent dictator will run again for reeve."

Mr. Goodhead had indicated earlier that he would not run for reeve but would seek the Metro chairmanship.

"I am not in favor of total amalgamation — one big city—I have never been in favor of it," he shouted amid applause from ratepayers.

North York Launches Probe For Commission

North York Council yesterday organized a thorough study of Metro services to formulate a brief to the Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto.

A series of committee meetings will discuss hospitals, welfare, planning, rapid transit and local autonomy.

A week ago, council voted to base its brief on the four or five-borough system for Metro. Council also agreed to appoint an outsider to collate information and present the township brief to the commission.

Reeve Norman Goodhead said council's desire to support a four or five-borough system indicated a parochial viewpoint and meant that councillors felt North York should remain as it is.

"This is much bigger than North York," he said. "All you can think about is your dirty little borough, not the over-all picture."

Council also decided to consider a motion to annex parts of Markham and Vaughan Townships.

Councillor Irving Paisley said the proposal should be studied along with other matters council will be tackling in connection with its brief to the commission.

Last night, Mr. Paisley said there are several thousand acres, mainly farmland, in the southern half of the townships, that are lying idle for lack of services.

He said the new railway bypass cuts these areas off from the administrative and economic hearts of the townships, making development difficult by the local councils.

North York could speed the development of the areas, he said. He said he would like to see North York take in from Steeles Ave. to the railway tracks and from the Humber River on the west to Victoria Park Ave. on the east.

For The Birds

SOMEWHAT difficult to know what North York Reeve Goodhead is for.

Up to June of this year he was for the inalienable independence of the 13 municipalities in Metro Toronto.

In September he was for alienating their independence, seconding a motion by Controller Lamport in favor of the amalgamation of the 13 municipalities.

Now he is for a four or five borough plan.

The only conclusion that can be drawn is that Reeve Goodhead is for the birds.

Since he also hopes to transfer to the Metropolitan Council everything which is expensive in the city (the Canadian National Exhibition, the "burden of the tax exemption for the University of Toronto", the "cost of welfare" and all "functions which have an area-wide basis"), his plan might well leave the local governments which he professes to respect in much the same position as Reeve Goodhead's local committees.

Viewed in still another aspect "amalgamation" might be the key to an enlarged metropolitan region, as indicated in an article by Alden Baker (13) :

"It is possible to amalgamate Toronto and its 12 suburbs and still retain Metro Government - giving it just as challenging a role as 10 years ago.

"The amalgamated city would in turn be only one member of a borough system embracing the townships of Pickering, Vaughan, Markham and Toronto and the incorporated communities within their borders in a new Metro.

"The strongest support for turning Metro government into a regional structure may be found in Metro Planning Board reports which point out the need to define and preserve the limits of urban expansion.

"Only a regional government could regulate urban growth.

"The planners suggest an urban development area to embrace 410 square miles. This is 170 square miles more than what is now covered by Metro government jurisdiction."

It would be interesting to hear Mr. Baker forecast the type of amalgamation agitation likely to occupy Southern Ontario municipal legislators ten years after the implementation of his plan. But perhaps by that time agitation for a separate province would have caught the journalistic fancy.

(13) *Globe & Mail*, October 7th, 1963, "One Big City in a Bigger Metro".

Pros & Cons

Some of the 'asinine' (14) arguments in favour of amalgamation which have been raised during the past three years follow with comments.

1. In 1953 five senior Toronto officials, including present Metropolitan Finance Commissioner Lascelles and Metropolitan Assessment Commissioner Gray are quoted as saying that "the formation of one municipality out of the 13, with a council elected directly by the people of the whole area, would afford the most democratic, efficient and economical administration of the various services that are essential for the development of the Greater Toronto area." Comment: They were then in the service of the City of Toronto which indicates its aims and directs its officials to prepare briefs supporting them.

2. The Ontario Government is accused of allowing "reverence for the sanctity of local autonomy" to prevent an order for "a Metro-wide vote on amalgamation . . . the right to vote for a better government. Comment: What kind of amalgamation would be on the ballot, and who would explain it to those who were voting on it? (15)

3. "The Metro area is one social and economic unit".

Comment: Where are the boundaries in this unit? Should part of Pickering be with Scarborough? What about the areas in Markham and Vaughan that are served by Metro? What about areas in Peel County that Etobicoke would like to annex? Is not the whole Golden Horseshoe from Niagara to Belleville one social and economic unit? Where do we draw the line?

(14) An epithet made memorable by Reeve Norman Goodhead during 1963.

(15) Cf. Section V

4. Speaking of the fact that 200 beds at Sunnybrook Hospital were not being made available for civilian use, Councillor Paisley, North York's Deputy Reeve, said "It is shocking that these beds are vacant when you consider our drastic hospital bed shortage. This is one reason why we need amalgamation of all hospital services in Metro." Comment:

Sunnybrook is a federal institution and it is difficult to see how amalgamation would affect it.

5. Amalgamation is necessary to put an end "to the constant friction and conflict between City and Suburban representatives" (Telegram, April 25th, 1963). Comment: Is there no friction between members of the present City Council? And wouldn't it probably increase in proportion to the size of the amalgamated city and the increased diversity of needs and interests?

6. The delay in getting the Alexandra Park re-development scheme under way was cited recently by a newspaper as an example of the need for "streamlining of the administration of Metro Toronto". Comment: How long did it take for the City of Toronto to make its own decision on the scheme? Or on the fire boat? Or on the details for the new City Hall?

7. The most ludicrous argument was presented by the Toronto ^{amalgamation} Telegram at the time of the attempted/coup by Controller Lamport and Reeve Goodhead in September, 1963: "Council still refuses to accept the inevitable change in its construction . . . After Mr. Goldenberg makes his recommendations, once it is in the government's hands, it will be too late". Or again: "Metro Council would be showing leadership today not merely by accepting the inevitable but by declaring that amalgamation is the reform that will serve the citizens in this area best." Comment: It's never too late to accept

what you don't believe in, but it's foolish to do so without putting up the best fight of which you are capable.

Dr. Albert Rose has called the Metropolitan organization "one of the most significant political innovations developed anywhere in the postwar period." (16) Dr. Rose believes that "total amalgamation" would "set back seriously the numerous efforts at governmental re-organization in metropolitan areas in the United States". (17)

Dr. Rose's article disposes pretty thoroughly of any case for amalgamation, concluding, on page 14:

"The real challenge in a modern metropolitan area like Toronto is the provision of a whole urban environment that is a good environment, and the chance for people to choose among several different types of conditions and influences. This means that we must develop political institutions which will promote and protect diversity. Do we want this kind of diversity? If we do we must decide clearly which public services need to be uniform and which may be left to the administration of a meaningful and viable local government. We need to encourage local interest, local initiative and local participation.

"The challenge does not lie in the creation of a vast city of more than two million persons by 1970 and nearly three millions by 1980. The challenge lies in the strengthening of local government in moderate-sized units."

(16) The Case Against Total Amalgamation in Metropolitan Toronto December, 1962, MS p.1. Hereafter cited as the Rose Case.

(17) It might also set back the current tentative movements towards Metropolitan-type county systems as described by Dalby J. Bucknell, Reeve of Clinton Township in "The Municipal World", December, 1963:

"We do not intend to suggest changes which would entirely eliminate the local authority. We believe that those maintenance and 'housekeeping chores' close to the people must be retained at a grass roots level. However, those problems which extend beyond the municipal level should be under the authority of an area form of government."

The Cumming Report stressed the value of local governments.

It stated: "It is unrealistic to expect that any single municipal council can be expected to undertake the burdens and responsibilities of the existing local governments in this area and, at the same time, to give sufficient consideration to the many difficult problems confronting the metropolitan area as a whole and to provide the kind of leadership it requires"..... "one essential of a sound metropolitan government for the Toronto area must be the separation of local and metropolitan municipal functions and duties". (18)

Again: "It is not by any means the view of the Board that the central authority should eventually take over all the important functions now performed by the local councils and their local boards. The Board is convinced that the local governments will always have a vital role in the general scheme of metropolitan government". (19)

The Cumming Report is not alone in its emphasis on the value of keeping local services in the hands of the smallest efficient unit of local government. Even in the Greater London area, no English politician suggests a larger maximum size for a borough than 333,000. (20) and some accept a minimum size, for historic reasons, as low as 50,000 and 100,000. (21) The idea of complete amalgamation or even of anything the size of Toronto would undoubtedly appal them.

(20) London Government: Government Proposals for Reorganization, November, 1961. and Official Reports of H. of C. Debates hereinafter cited as London White Paper & London Hansard.

(21) Report of the Royal Commission on Local Government in Greater London, 1957-60, hereinafter cited as London

Hamburg in Germany has actually decentralized itself since the war, and many of the powers formerly pertaining to the central Bürgerschaft Senat are now exercised in local matters by the Bezirksamter and even the smaller Ortsämter. The seven Bezirke of Hamburg have populations of from 250,000 to 300,000. (22) This did not happen over-night, nor has their progress been without criticism. But as Bürgermeister Edgar Engelhard remarked: "Man sollte jedoch nicht übersehen, daß die Bezirksverwaltung in ihrer heutigen Form noch nicht sieben Jahre alt ist. Es erscheint mir verfrüht, aus den Erfahrungen dieser kurzen Zeit nun das Recht zu neuen, tiegreifenden Änderungen herleiten zu wollen" (23) It is a pity all could not be so tolerant of something new.

Big government simply does not work out in practice. Even in a comparatively small city like Toronto, the Welfare Department has to operate 3 district offices and 3 sub-offices in addition to its headquarters. The Works and Parks Departments also operate through district or divisional offices, through which all detailed information and direct help must be channelled. The difference under the Metro system is that the local offices are operated by elected governments who can give decisions and who are directly responsible to the ratepayers. The chain of command is shorter, the red tape less smothering and the knowledge of the legislators of the area, and, of the feelings of those for whom they are establishing policy, is necessarily more intimate.

(22) Stadtstaat Hamburg: Erich Lüth, 1963. Page 68

(23) Neues Hamburg XI, 1956. Ed. Erich Lüth, Page 101

Furthermore, as the Cumming Report (24) wisely points out, "in the larger municipalities with complex administrative problems costs tend to increase with the size of the municipality, chiefly because of the larger number of employees per unit of population; and that per capita costs in general tend to increase with the size of the municipality. (25) Moreover, the popular notion that a large city is able to pay more than a small one and to afford an almost endless list of desirable but unnecessary expenditures regardless of its true financial position cannot be ignored in any consideration of the probable cost of amalgamation." (26)

(24) Page 29

(25) It is primarily on this basis that the suburbs objected early in 1963 to plans for the assumption by Metro of the total cost of welfare. Statistics were presented to show much greater numbers of staff and administrative cost in the city in proportion to the number of case-days, but it was not shown clearly that better results were achieved.

(26) The Metropolitan Council - and apparently the Toronto Council also - has too large and disunited a membership and too big and complex a budget for there to be any real discussion of priorities in projects. Recently some members of metro objected to the lack of consideration with which over 50 million extra TTC debt was assumed by Metro (Executive Report 65, December 5, 1963) without considering its effect on the total capital picture, and all Metro claims on the Municipal Loan fund staked on our ability to finish the work by 1966 (Executive Report 4, January 28, 1964) regard - less of the cost of extra shifts, etc., or any consideration of other needs which more truly met the spirit of the federal requirements. Budgets in these large municipalities are pared by cutting down on maintenance and small projects, but never by deciding that we need a new court-house more than a new city hall or both more than a Toronto "Lincoln Centre", or by deciding that there will be no more subway developments until we have paid for the present system or that we need hospital grants more than public housing or vice versa.

Application of Criteria

Most of the discussions of amalgamation have been of a very general nature, and evaluation of their conclusions is likely to be coloured by the convictions of the appraiser. Before completely discarding amalgamation as a solution, it seems fair to apply to it the following criteria:

1. Could it effect operational economies or would it be likely to be as expensive or even more expensive than the borough system?
2. Would it affect the democratic participation of the individual ratepayer in planning his own neighbourhood?
3. In what ways would it forward our aims for our city and in what ways would it militate against these?

A Report Prepared for the Special Committee of Metropolitan Council on Metropolitan Affairs by the Committee of Metropolitan Department Heads (27), dated October 18, 1961, suggests that economies might be made by amalgamation of some of the smaller civil service departments (28) However, the general tenor of this Report is very cautious about assuming that there would be over-all administrative economies. It is indicated in regard to the Clerk's Departments, for example, that "at least" the total staff of the Metropolitan Corporation and the member municipalities would be required to handle the enormous volume of records, correspondence, etc., for an amalgamated city. (29)

(27) Hereinafter referred to as the Metro Depts' Report.

(28) E.g. : "The size of some of the Departments (Clerk Treasurer's) in the smaller municipalities may be such that it is difficult to make most efficient use of personnel through specialization, division of labour, and use of mechanical aids."

(29) Op.cit., p. 49

Furthermore, any advantages rising from mechanization and specialization might well be offset by "the possibility of the unified operation becoming "unwieldy and therefore tending to be less efficient." (30)

This danger is stated very clearly in a reading from Luther Gulick's "Notes on the Theory of Organization" (31): "Just as the hand of man can span only a limited number of notes on the piano, so the mind and will of man can span but a limited number of immediate managerial contacts." Suggestions include 3 at the top, 6 at the bottom (Sir Ian Hamilton); 5 for a technical cabinet (Léon Blum); 5 or 6 assistants for the head of a big undertaking (Henri Fayol); 10 or 12 for a Cabinet (Graham Wallas and British Machinery of Government Committee of 1918).

Factors such as time, space and technology affect the determination of this matter, but it is obvious that increased size lengthens the chain of command and increases the likelihood of services getting bogged down in red tape. An article by Donald Rowatt on "A Necessary Evil" (32) points out that public service is more prone to this last danger than large commercial and industrial concerns because of the "copious records" needed

(30) Ibid.

(31) Basic Issues in Public Administration, ed. Donald C. Rowat, Macmillan, 1961. Pp. 54-5.

(32) Op. Cit, pages 31-3. "Any large organization is noted for the impersonal nature of its dealings . . . those at the top cannot deal personally with . . . thousands of persons . . . They must instead lay down general rules . . . And those at the bottom, who do not have the power to change the rules, must either apply them rigidly or refer cases higher up for decision."

to "explain and justify" every action, the monopolistic character of the work and the "lack of a clear-cut basis for measuring efficiency."

All told then, it seems difficult to be sure that amalgamation would produce large scale economies or increased general efficiency of operation, improved efficiency resulting from consolidation of some smaller departments being offset by the increasing unwieldiness of the whole.

2. Democratic Participation

Canadian conceptions of municipal government and past practice involve democratic participation in decision-making to a degree beyond all comparison with federal or provincial schemes.

The problem of maintaining this in larger and larger communities is well stated in the Metro Departments Report -

"It is apparent that more than a simple question of decision-making efficiency is involved; a single council of moderate size might well seem more efficient in reaching its decisions than the present two-level system. But if it were unable to maintain the relatively close contact with the citizens which now exists, would it be more likely to reach wrong decisions or decisions which at least ignore the interests of important minorities?

"If the number of councils, council committees, and departments were reduced under amalgamation, then it might be reasonable to assume that the number of local boards, commissions, authorities, etc., which currently total over 100, might also be reduced. Their workload under amalgamation remains to be determined, but it would probably still be very heavy. (33)"

. . . "one of the problems members of an amalgamated council would face would be the difficulty of finding the time required to study the anticipated lengthy agendas which would come before the council and its committees and to acquaint themselves with details of the numerous varying and complex local problems in all the different sections of the area. To meet these difficulties would evidently be a full-time job, and it is at least questionable whether even full-time councillors could become as familiar with local problems as are the present local councillors.(34) . . . certain practical difficulties may arise in connection with the processing of a multitude of items by one Council. For example, it would likely be necessary to hold numerous and/or protracted Council meetings to cope with the combined workload that is presently being handled by 13 Area Councils and the Metropolitan Council.

"Under existing municipal structure, deputations are heard by the Councils or Committees of Area Municipalities and the Metropolitan Corporation on matters of local or area-wide interest. Under a single form of municipal government, it would appear to be necessary for the Council or its Committees to hear deputations from the entire area which could be tremendously time-consuming."(35)

"Doubt as to the effect of amalgamation on this highly-valued right of democratic participation was apparently a powerful factor in inducing the Ontario Municipal Board to set up a Metropolitan instead of an amalgamated form of government in the first place. (36)

(34) Page 12

(35) Page 20

(36) Cumming Report, pages 31,44, etc.

Since the increasing variety and complexity of municipal functions has aggravated the difficulty rather than minimizing it, it is probably fair to conclude that amalgamation might well fail "in providing the kind of local government needed and desired by the local communities." (37)

3. The City of our dreams.

Here the pros and cons may seem more evenly balanced, in theory at least, than in either of our previous approaches. Extravagance may be balanced by brilliant achievement and faults by the means to correct them. Large cities take big risks and spend lavishly but this may be justified if they thus complete great and exciting projects. However, if in the process they blur and destroy the good feeling of security and the variety and life in smaller communities within their area, they may create slums and thus cause a net loss.

Conversely, large cities may foster slums but they are able to undertake urban renewal on a larger scale than smaller communities, and with more exciting results.

It would be difficult to show that the citizens of Mimico are less healthy than those of East York or that the fire losses of Swansea would decrease greatly if they had a paid force. It is probably accurate to say that each municipality gives its people the care in these fields that the people themselves need and demand.

Perhaps it would be fair to say that there is a proper minimum size for each service or group of services below which adequate service cannot be provided or cannot be provided with reasonable economy. But it would doubtless be equally fair to say that as the organization expands farther and farther beyond this proper minimum the law of diminishing returns comes into effect, and finally there is a direct loss of efficiency. The optimum sizes are manifestly so different for a programme of conservation and flood control and for a programme of recreation geared to meet varying neighbourhood needs that we are encouraged to believe the two-level system of government is a great improvement alike on the one big city and on the many smaller cities, not only in administrative efficiency and democratic participation but in enabling us to proceed towards the city of our dreams. General planning is needed for the general services; local planning, for the specialized neighbourhood needs and desires.

The next three sections will accordingly discard amalgamation as a possibility and attempt to establish the optimum size for a member municipality in Metro and the methods by which such a municipality can be set up. Subsequent sections will consider at which level various powers and responsibilities should be exercised.

IV

THE FEDERATED SYSTEM

"It is easier for a man to be loyal
to his club than to his planet: the by-laws
are shorter and he is personally acquainted
with the other members"

- Elwyn Brooks White

"A district has to be big and powerful
enough to fight City Hall."

- Jane Jacobs

Metropolitan Toronto is a federated, as distinct
from an amalgamated, city. It makes no difference whether the
member municipalities are called cities, boroughs, or, in
cumbersome and not too meaningful fashion, area municipalities.

The success or failure of the scheme will depend
largely on the viability of the individual units and the
division of powers. Something between the size of a club and
a planet is obviously indicated. This section will attempt
to determine the optimum size.

The four-city and five-city plans sponsored by the
former Metro Chairman, Frederick G. Gardiner, Q. C., and elabor-
ated at his request in the Gathercole Report ⁽¹⁾ appear to be an

(1) Lovers of bigness are prone to say that Mr. Gathercole "recommended" amalgamation or the four or five-city plan. This is incorrect. The Telegram, on February 26, 1964, editorialized on the "significance" of the fact that the Ontario Department of Economics considered only "three possibilities for the future government of the area". It was specifically asked to consider only those three, which may be one of the reasons it got nowhere.

attempt to perpetuate the present uneasy balance between the City of Toronto and the suburbs.

Like the initial arrangement of Bill 80, either system could be cast in a mould which would give the city and suburbs equal and reasonably equitable representation. (2)

Such representation, obtained by allowing the City to annex nearly all of the densely settled municipalities of the inner suburban ring, would be frozen even more irremediably than the arrangement under Bill 80, and would become inequitable almost as rapidly as is shown by the population figures on the following sheets, (3) which are already quite out of

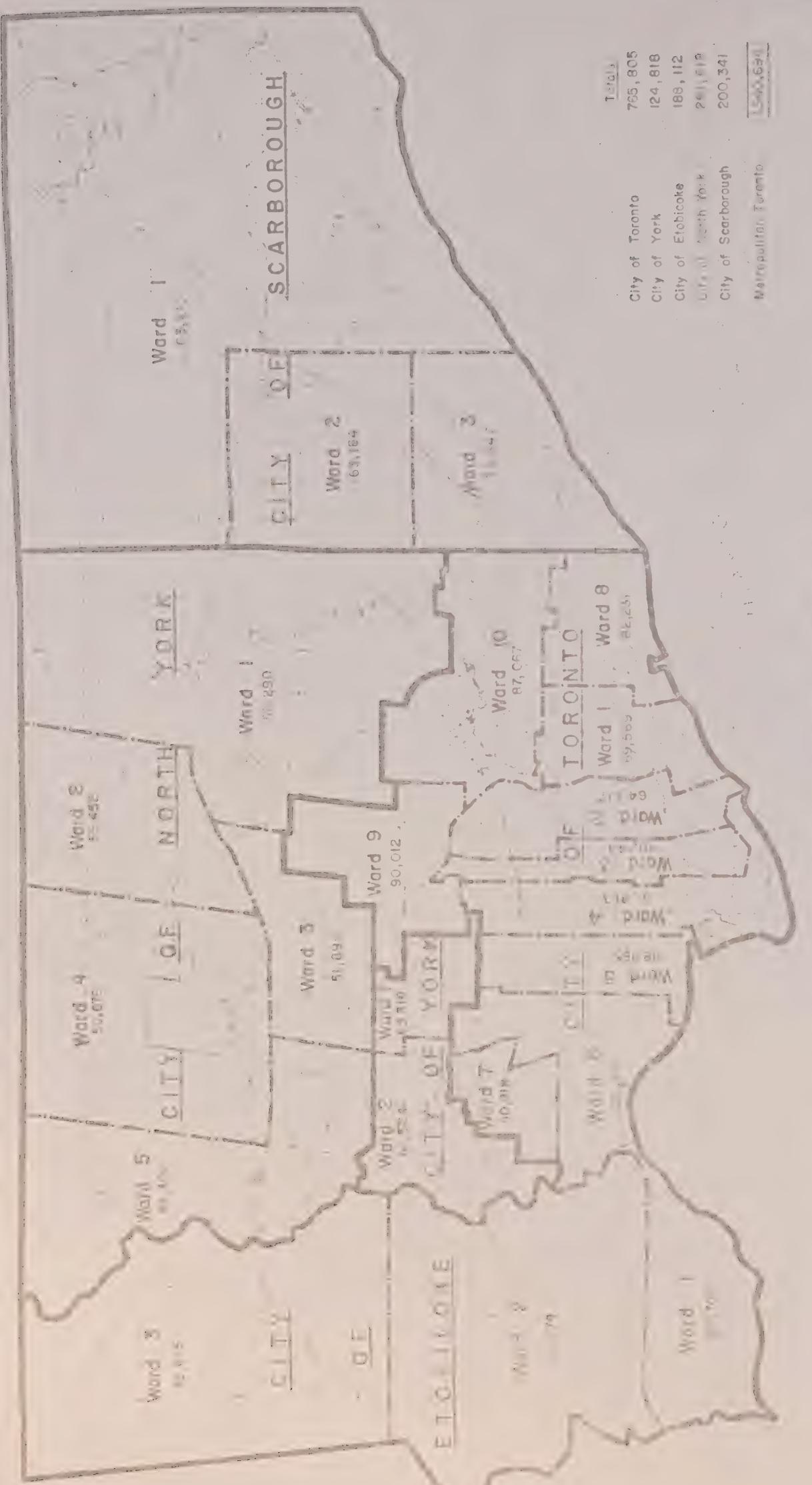
(2) "It is essential that the City of Toronto should have a voting strength in Council equal to the combined voting strength of the twelve suburbs". Report from Mr. Gardiner, Aug. 24, 1961, to the Special Committee on Metropolitan Affairs (hereinafter cited as the Gardiner Report), P. 19.

(3) Appendix to Gardiner Report of August, 1961.
See pages 2a and 2b following

METROPOLITAN TORONTO

5-CWAY Plan After Combining 13 Monographs into 3

Chairman



FIVE CITY PLAN FOR METROPOLITAN TORONTO

date in January, 1964. (4)

Neither the four-city nor the five-city system would equalize financial burdens, since both visualize, as retaining a reasonable degree of financial equalization demands either complete amalgamation⁽⁵⁾ or a completely new approach to financial problems in this field would continue to divide the Metropolitan Council and thus impede progress and prevent stable government and realistic planning.

Furthermore, a democratic belief in the significance of the individual, regardless of his wealth or poverty, forbids acceptance of the theory that financial interest should be regarded as justifying special

(4)	MUNICIPALITIES IN METROPOLITAN TORONTO	
	1960 Population	1963 Population
City of Toronto	644,948	642,235
Leaside	16,645	18,850
Mimico	16,442	17,707
New Toronto	12,941	12,909
Weston	9,535	9,808
Forest Hill	20,386	20,985
Long Branch	10,783	10,965
Swansea	9,522	9,242
East York	69,373	71,139
Etobicoke	145,847	162,291
North York	247,764	279,323
Scarborough	198,724	227,197
York	124,195	125,852
Metropolitan Toronto	1,527,105	1,608,503

(5) Even complete amalgamation would not completely equalize the financial burden. Complete equalization would mean not only that all paid on the same basis but that the same services were equally available to all, which would manifestly take years to accomplish.

representation though this appears to have been accepted by both Mr. Gardiner⁽⁶⁾ and Mr. Gathercole⁽⁷⁾. This is presumably the basis on which Ward 3 in the City of Toronto, with a 1961 population of 38,964⁽⁸⁾ has the same representation as Ward 6 with a population of 122,555. This does not, however, make it democratic. It smacks too much of "rotten boroughs" to be used as a basis for building our fine new metropolitan complex. There is a proper way to equalize the financial burden, and this will be discussed.

Our concern in this section, however, is merely to establish the minimum and maximum size required for good borough administration and efficient provision of services.

(6) "There is not representation by population and financial interest. There is adequate and appropriate representation between the city and the twelve suburbs both with respect to population and financial interest, but....there is not representation by financial interest and by population as between the twelve suburban municipalities." (Gardiner Report, p.17. Italics ours. This approach is mentioned again in Section V.).

Mr. Gardiner shows his prejudice even more clearly when on page 19 he suggests 1 representative for Mimico with a population of 16,442 and 2 representatives for Leaside with a population of 16,645.

(7) "Under this suggested consolidation of area municipalities, representation by population could be made fairly consistent with representation by financial interest." (Gathercole Report, p. 13) By the way, this statement will be examined in Section VI.

(8) City of Toronto Municipal Handbook, 1963-64, P. 40.

Assuming a financial solution, and it will be considered in section VI, the optimum size of a borough could be worked out in relation to efficient organization of the services considered appropriate to the local authority and equitable representation on a Metropolitan Council of reasonable size.

The four-city or five-city plan would be subject to all the criticisms levelled at the large size of the present or an amalgamated city with none of the advantages. (C)

(9) Although it is not the function of this statement to present the advantages of amalgamation, which has been rejected by both the council and the ratepayers' federation of East York, common sense and common honesty have alike compelled an examination of these, and superficially at least, they might include such items as the following: (a) a simple method for better distribution of the financial burden, (b) a saving of time by the excision of one level of approvals in certain fields (balanced by increasing intra-department complexity), (c) a closer correlation of metro and local planning, of roads and traffic policies (to the detriment perhaps of local residential interests), and (d) uniformity of standards in education, welfare services, recreation, etc., which would delight some and appal others.

Optimum Size

For the closest relations between the government and the governed, the smallest community which can provide the appropriate services is probably the most desirable.

There are, of course, many points of view as to what constitute appropriate services and how they may be provided. A number of the member municipalities in Toronto buy services from each other, for the sake of economy or efficiency or because of long association which they hesitate to break. Some municipalities depend more than others on volunteer services. Some provide recreational services free, while others charge. Some have more frequent garbage collections or more elegant furniture or more generous welfare allowances than others.

It is interesting to note, however, that most ratepayers outside the City of Toronto seem well content with their present form of government. On February 24th, 1964, for example, the Mimico Ratepayers' Association stormily "derailed a town council brief that would have told the Goldenberg Royal Commission it favored the amalgamation of the Lakeshore Municipalities with Etobicoke," (10) The brief of the East York Ratepayers' Federation, forwarded, is also anti-amalgamationist.

(10) Toronto Daily Star, February 25, 1964

On the other hand, Toronto and Toronto oriented or Metro-supported groups such as the Women Electors, and the Metropolitan Social Planning Council, echo the cries of the Toronto Council and Toronto Newspapers for amalgamation.

Most of the discussions regarding changes in the Metropolitan form of government have centred on suggestions for a realignment of boroughs, ranging from Mr. Frederick Gardiner's four-borough and five-borough plan mentioned at the beginning of this section to Alderman David Rotenberg's eight-borough plan.⁽¹¹⁾ Few, if any of these have contained any provision for adjustment of representation as population changed. They were all more or less equitable and practicable quasi-permanent re-alignments on the basis of existing conditions. The earliest specific suggestion for a flexible set-up appears to have been the following:

That this Metropolitan Council go on record as favouring the establishment of population minima and maxima and averages based on the present representation of the City of Toronto as the pattern of representation to the Metropolitan Council along the following lines:

(11) Presented in committee of Metropolitan Council, December 13th, 1961, but never reaching council.

One representative for the first 40,000
One representative for the next 40,000
One for the next 50,000
One for the next 60,000
One for each additional 50,000

The method of selecting representatives to be left to the area Councils.

THAT as soon as general approval is given to the above basis of representation by the Department of Municipal Affairs, the municipalities which have not a sufficient population to be entitled to independent representation under this scheme be asked to negotiate such affiliation as they consider desirable by February 28, 1963, holding plebiscites if they consider them necessary in connection with their elections in December, 1962.

THAT in the case of any municipality which has not been able to effect a satisfactory arrangement for representation by February 28, 1963, the Department of Municipal Affairs be asked to deal with the problem by reference either to the Municipal Board or to a Board of Arbitration to be set up as the Department shall direct.

THAT the Provincial Government be asked at its session of 1963-4 to make whatever legislative changes are necessary to implement the final plan.

THAT the required changes of representation take place at the beginning of 1965, based on the elections of 1964 which shall be held in accordance with whatever agreements

have been made between amalgamating municipalities for local or metropolitan representation. (12) This was tabled on January 23rd, 1962, for consideration when Council receives from the Ontario Department of Economics and Development and from the Department of Municipal Affairs, the report requested on December 13th, 1961, respecting the functions of the Metropolitan Corporation and the Area Municipalities. It never came back.

A broadcast over C.F.R.B. on January 7th, 1962 explained how this system of representation was worked out:

"Let us take Toronto as the standard. Toronto has nine wards and twelve representatives. The smallest ward has barely 40,000 people. There are three wards having 80,000 or more.

"We begin, then, by assigning one Metro member to each unit of 40,000 and two to each unit of 80,000, and providing that the method of selection be the responsibility of the municipality concerned. That gives Toronto its present twelve.

"To guard against gerrymandering all municipalities into units of barely 40,000 each, which might defy natural boundaries and destroy communities, we make 50,000 the minimum

(12) Notice of motion by Reeve True Davidson in Metropolitan Council, January 12th, 1962

for the next representative above 80,000; 60,000 for the next, and after that 50,000 again for each additional. This would give North York, five representatives; Scarborough, four; Etobicoke, three; York, two; and East York, one. The rest would have to make some sort of deal with their neighbours.

"By joining East York, Leaside would raise East York's representation to two, and could stipulate that the second would come from Leaside.

"By joining York, Forest Hill, Weston and Swansea would raise its representation to three, and might stipulate for one representative to come from each of those municipalities in turn. Or they might prefer to make some deal with Toronto.

"The Lakeshore municipalities could come together and have one representative. Or by joining Etobicoke, they would give that township an extra vote which they might stipulate should be held by one of their people.

"A reasonable length of time should be allowed for such deals. Metro and Provincial officials might advise on minor boundary adjustments, to ensure well-balanced and easily administered communities.

"With such an equitable distribution of membership, the feeling that Toronto and suburban interests are inevitably in opposition would die a natural death. Toronto would normally assume its rightful place as the leader of all the

intensively developed municipalities, but on occasion east end municipalities and wards might seek goals differing from those of west end wards and municipalities. Real and varied interests would replace artificial and bitter permanent alignments in our thinking. Suburban representatives need not feel they were "letting down the team" if they were aligned with City members and vice versa.

In a letter conveying copies of this broadcast to Metropolitan Councillors it was noted:

"I have to admit that the Toronto representation would average out at a little less than the suburban under this system. The latest figures I have been able to get show, 1,566,231 people in Metro. The maximum representation under my suggested scheme would be 30, which would average out at 52,207 people per representative. If the Toronto population is correct at 647,749, the twelve representatives from the city would represent on the average 53,979 people each.

"When the number of actual voters is taken into account, however, the discrepancies are much less striking. In any case, with the greater rate of growth in the suburbs, they would soon level things out, perhaps before the plan was even implemented."

This scheme was designed to render changes as palatable as possible by giving almost every municipality a chance to participate in the determination of its own destiny and retain, even if in union with others, some vestiges of autonomy.

In this effort, however, it failed to solve the problem of any over-large Metropolitan Council. It would have begun with 30 members and would probably have increased with every election.

If Metropolitan efficiency were to be the only criterion, a size of approximately 80,000 might be a better minimum with 70,000 for the next jump, and similarly alternating thereafter. Under current conditions this might mean 8 members for Toronto, 3 or 4 for North York, 3 for Scarborough, 2 for Etobicoke, 2 for York with Forest Hill and Weston, 1 for East York and Leaside, and perhaps 1 for the Lakeshore Municipalities plus Swansea and a bit of Etobicoke. This would mean a Metro Council of 20 or 21 or perhaps^{if} of 19 if the Lakeshore Municipalities were incorporated with Etobicoke, and Swansea with Toronto. A membership of 20 or 21 would be quite in harmony with the total figures for the area, 1,608,503,⁽¹³⁾ but a membership of half this size would be more efficient,⁽¹⁴⁾ To secure the latter however, membership would have to be at the rate of one for every 150,000, and this would involve rather more extensive reorganization of areas than it might be possible to sell to local residents.

(13) Figures from City of Toronto Handbook, 1963-64, P. 229

(14) When a council exceeds 10 or 12 members, cliques begin to form. Work is left to staff and executive or board of control, and the role of the individual member is stultified.

A Viable Borough

Leaving aside for the moment all considerations of acceptability to present municipal organizations or capacity to produce the right kind of Metropolitan organization, and concentrating on optimum size for local municipal purposes alone, a good borough is probably somewhere between 50,000 and 250,000, although exceptional circumstances might justify something smaller or larger.

Jane Jacobs, a quotation from whose "Death and Life of Great American Cities" appears at the opening of this section, offers a vivid picture of what keeps urban life alive. She begins with what seems to an East Yorker, like a description of his own township.

The basic unit is the street, she says. A lively neighbourly street contributes to safety, social contact, and the education of the children.

"The trust of a city street is formed over time from many, many little public sidewalk contacts. It grows out of people stopping by at the bar for a beer, getting advice from the grocer and giving advice to the newsstand man, comparing opinions with other customers at the bakery and nodding hello to the two boys drinking pop on the stoop, eying the girls while waiting to be called for dinner, admonishing the children, hearing about a job from the hardware man and borrowing a dollar from the druggist, admiring the new

babies and sympathizing over the way a coat faded. Customs vary: in some neighbourhoods people compare notes on their dogs; in others they compare notes on their landlords.

"Most of it is ostensibly utterly trivial but the sum is not trivial at all. The sum of such casual, public contact at a local level - metered by the person concerned and not thrust upon him by anyone - is a feeling for the public identity of people, a web of public respect and trust, and a resource in time of personal or neighbourhood need." (15)

So it is in East York, the hairdressers' establishments are like Ladies' Clubs, and a barber who served for 12 years on the Board of Education had always the most up-to-date thinking of the community. One newcomer to the Township who had intended only to remain until an apartment was available downtown, has remained for 17 years and become very active in Township organizations, largely because the street on which she happened to alight incorporated her with such promptitude into the fabric of its life. The children were soon using her home as a club-house and the parents were helping her to renovate the building and cleaning up the garden.

(15) Op. cit. Page 56.

Man's need for an integrated and self-conscious community life with its ethical sanctions and social and psychological support is stressed again and again in the C.I.P.A. report of its 5th Annual Winter Week-end Conference on the Theme of "The Troubled Metropolis."

It is surprising how soon even T.T.C. bus drivers become infected with the neighbourhood spirit, recognizing their regular pickups, (stopping for them in the middle of blocks,) and waiting for them if they are in view at all. The Mortimer-Main bus which the T.T.C. put on, very reluctantly, three years ago is slowly assuming the club-like atmosphere of the old Hollinger line which preceded amalgamation.

To Mrs. Jacobs this street neighbourhood is the basic component of the living city. At the other end of the scale, is the city community in which function "vital special-interest communities and pressure groups .. people especially interested in the theatre or in music or in other arts people immersed in special professions or businesses". The Metropolitan Council makes grants to these special interest groups and furnishes services to the Metropolitan business community which makes itself felt through such organizations as the Board of Trade. It has little contact, and often seems to have no interest, in the little residential streets which cluster about the great-traffic arteries and are the living flesh of the city.

"The chief function of a successful district" says Mrs. Jacobs, "is to mediate between the indispensable, but inherently completely powerless street neighbourhoods, and the inherently powerful city as a whole". As an example, Metro member municipalities functioning in this way may be cited.

The Village of Forest Hill and the Township of York were not able to stop the metropolitan corporation from going ahead with the Expressway, since a majority of the council felt it was needed. However, their opposition was strong enough to compel provision of recreational facilities elsewhere to make up for the loss of ravine parks. As noted above, a successful district, like a viable metropolitan borough, has to be "big and powerful enough to fight City Hall" or to preserve a reasonable proportion of local amenities against what sometimes seem the onslaughts of the Metropolitan juggernaut.

Mrs. Jacobs points out that "the ideal of supposedly cozy, inward-turned city neighbourhoods of about 7,000 persons is completely ridiculous since "no population of 5 to 10,000 residents has enough natural cross communications within itself", to generate effective activity. " a reasonably effective district eventually generates.... whole series of individuals able to operate simultaneously at street scale and district scale, and in neighbourhoods of the city as a whole." Any member of any council in East York qualifies as such an individual and most of us can point to many fellow ratepayers who do the same. Participation in a "district" for mutual protection, then, does not in any way inhibit cooperation for specific purposes, governmental or voluntary, across the entire metropolitan area.

The effective minimum size for a district, Mrs. Jacobs believes, is related to the size of the surrounding city. "In a city like Boston, Pittsburgh or possibly even Philadelphia, as few as 30,000 people may be sufficient to form a district. In New York or Chicago, however, a district as small as 30,000 amounts to nothing. Chicago's most effective district, the Back-of-the-Yards, embraces about 100,000 people, according to the director of the district Council, and is building up its population further. In New York, Greenwich Village is on the small side for an effective district, but is viable because it manages to make up for this with other advantages. It contains approximately 80,000 residents On the maximum side, I know of no district larger than 200,000 which operates like a district. Geographical size imposes empirical population limits in any case. In real life, the maximum size of naturally evolved, effective districts seems to be roughly about a mile and a half square. (16) Probably this is because anything larger

(16) Mrs. Jacobs gives a significant exception to this size limitation in her book and, of course, she is dealing with more intensively developed American cities, and greater size might well be necessary to secure sufficient and sufficiently varied population for good districts in the suburban parts of Metropolitan Toronto. East York, for example, occupies between 5 and 6 square miles in comparison with the $2\frac{1}{2}$ square miles suggested by Mrs. Jacobs. The present population however, is only about 72,000, which the township planners think might eventually become 90,000. This is partly due to the large area occupied by East York's central park.

gets too inconvenient for sufficient local cross-use and for the functional identity that underlies district political identity. In a very big city, populations must therefore be dense to achieve successful districts; otherwise, sufficient political power is never reconciled with viable geographical identity." (17)

Mrs. Jacobs concludes that one of the major aims of city planning should be "to emphasize the functional identity of areas large enough to work as districts." It is sad to see that some departments of Metropolitan Toronto seem to have established policies devoted expressly to destroying such identities. (18)

(17) Mrs. Jacobs' statements regarding viable geographic size are doubtless truer of American districts which lack the cohesive force of municipal government provided by member municipalities in Metropolitan Toronto.

(18) Police districts, for example ignore municipal boundaries and even where there is an accidental coincidence, police officers are never allowed to settle into a community long enough to become a part of it. The Metro planning Commissioner in the Planning Districts (Plate 3) in his proposed Draft for the Official Plan of the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area (1959) arranges districts and sub-districts to cross municipal borders in such a way that it would be practically impossible for local municipalities to do any independent planning whatever, if his ideas were accepted.

It is interesting to compare Mrs. Jacobs' conclusions with those of the London Royal Commission which states that the Greater London Boroughs "should be the primary units of local government and perform all functions except those which can only be effectively performed over the wider area of Greater London they should, as a rule, be within a population range of 100,000 to 250,000". The present government has increased the maximum borough population to about 330,000 , but it should be remembered that this is within an area of 8 million, and that somewhat larger boroughs may be required to keep the size of the London County Council within manageable dimensions. (19)

Many other figures have been suggested for various purposes. The re-distribution of Provincial Ridings used 62,000 - 65,000 as a base. Mr. Gardiner, from time to time, prepared various maps suggesting redistribution in areas ranging between 40,000 and 125,000, two of which are attached, together with a suggested modification along similar lines.

(19) Personal discussions with members of London local councils in September 1962, suggested that there might be political implications in certain aspects of the consolidation of boroughs, since representatives of one major party almost uniformly favoured it, while representatives of the other were as uniformly opposed. This impression is strengthened by reading the debate in the British House of Commons in December 1962, including many such comments as that of Mr. John Parker. "We on this side of the House resent the Bill because we believe that it is a party political Bill. We have been told that it is " politics in the raw ". It certainly is." (Hansard, Vol. 669, No. 31 Tuesday, 11th Dec. 1962, column 317).

The Report of the Royal Commission on Metropolitan Saint John implies that 100,000 is a not inappropriate size for a single urban municipal government,⁽²⁰⁾ although it makes no attempt to relate this size to that appropriate to member municipalities in a Metropolitan government.

It is apparent that Dr. Albert Rose subconsciously considers 90,000 a not inappropriate size for a member of the Metropolitan community since he states⁽²¹⁾ that the smaller municipalities of Leaside, Mimico, New Toronto, Weston, Forest Hill, Long Branch and Swansea should be merged in the larger Municipalities of Toronto, Etobicoke, York, North York and Scarborough. It is not contended that he considered East York a large municipality. Indeed, he was apparently supporting the Gardiner Five-City Plan, which would absorb East York in Toronto. For this reason his omission of any reference to East York can only be ascribed to a Freudian

(20) "I do not know a single instance where this (Metropolitan Federation) has been proposed and accepted as the cure for Metropolitan organization problems in an area containing less than 100,000 people." Op. cit. Page 15.

(21) Rose Case, Page

slip caused by a conflict between his conscious intention to do what seemed expedient and easy and treat East York as a small municipality without claim to survival, and his subconscious knowledge that this was inequitable.

A search for criteria for a selection among these various concrete suggestions as to optimum size cannot do better than accept the thoughtful analysis of the Royal Commission on Government in the Greater London Area. This report suggests that in addition to being large enough to provide essential local services of satisfactory quality and variety without undue expense, a viable local municipality should be large enough to "attract good professionals", organize them properly, pay them adequately, challenge and give them scope for their professional ability ("even if promotion at or near the top is usually achieved by moves from one authority to another"). It should also be of a suitable size to attract the good councillor whose qualifications it describes as follows:

"He must know his people, those who have elected him, their needs, desires and fears. He must also remember that he represents not only those of his constituents who have voted for him but also those who have voted against him. Even where, as so often happens, seats are uncontested, a councillor usually represents some who would have voted against him if they had had the chance.

"He must be prepared to learn enough to participate effectively in policy decisions carrying out 'compulsory' functions

and in policy decisions as to the extent to which 'voluntary' functions should be undertaken.

"He must learn to keep away from interference in the administrative execution of policy, leaving case work to the professionals.

"He must maintain close enough relations with the officials and their work to enable him to form opinions as to their competence; to be satisfied that policy is being faithfully and competently carried out; and to ensure that matters involving policy are brought at the right time before the appropriate committee.

The report warns, however, that "an authority of too great size and scope" may throw out the balance between the amateur and the expert. In any case "it is useless to create too many 'outsize' jobs when one knows there will not be enough 'outsize' people to fill them. If the area becomes too large the councillor will not be "fully aware" of his people's needs. Large committees lead to public debate rather than to the informal conversation of a group "seeking a solution to a problem for which they are responsible". This is perhaps the reason why large councils like those of Toronto and Metropolitan Toronto are of such uneven calibre and so responsive to domination by dictators and demagogues, while smaller local councils, closer to the people, sit like

a club executive exchanging views on subjects with which they all are thoroughly familiar, though some may be experts, listening to each other courteously and making a sincere effort to reach a consensus.

The minimum size acceptable for a Metropolitan borough has naturally been of acute concern to East York ever since it began serious planning in 1959 and particularly since the Metropolitan Council launched its inquiry into the matter of Metropolitan Government in Mr. Gardiner's last year of office. Under the Gardiner five-borough plan we would be combined with Leaside as Ward 10 in Toronto. Under the Gathercole four-borough plan York would apparently become the tenth ward of Toronto and East York be divided between Wards 1, 2 and 8. If the former prospect was displeasing, the latter was intolerable. We had gone without so much for so long and were just beginning to get what we need for a good, well-rounded community life. Our Ratepayers' Federation urged us to fight for the survival of our community. But we wanted to be sure that we were not being imprudent and impractical. In 1962, therefore, we had a study made by a disinterested expert to determine whether or not our community could be regarded as a viable unit of local government, and we were assured that it could.

Our consultant established criteria somewhat similar to those of the London Commission Report as follows:

- "1. A 'balanced' tax-base is not a sensible guide to the establishment of local government boundaries in Metropolitan Toronto (or in any other metropolitan area).
- "2. The unit should not be so large as to prevent effective representation or an unhealthy balance between the professional and the amateur.
- "3. The unit should not be so small as to provide little scope or challenge or make it impossible to provide an adequate professional staff.
- "4. As far as possible the unit should be related to some readily observable identity and where such cannot take physical form then history and tradition should be primary considerations.
- "5. No radical change should be made in altering the size of East York unless and until a comprehensive review of the whole governmental structure of the Toronto area is undertaken by the Provincial Government."

As to what might happen in the event of such a comprehensive review, he suggested the reviewers might, in view of the small size of some member municipalities, recommend some such consolidation as the following:

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Representation</u>	<u>Ratio</u>
City of Toronto (and Swansea)	651,477	13	50,114
North York (and Weston)	288,201	5	57,640
Scarborough	227,197	4	55,439
Etobicoke	162,291	3	54,097
York Township (and Forest Hill)	146,837	3	48,946
East York (and Leaside)	89,989	2	44,995
Mimico, New Toronto and Long Branch	41,393	1	41,393

(Population figures brought up to date, See Toronto Municipal Handbook 1963-4, and representation amended where necessary.) *

The consultant's report remarks, in summary:

"The application of an ideal system of representation at the senior level of local government would involve the creation of units of roughly equal size. This, however, would necessitate the total amalgamation and subsequent division of the entire Metropolitan area into units of equal population capable of performing the secondary functions of government and capable of responsible representation of the population. It is contended that this is a virtually hopeless task and that primary emphasis should be placed on the evolution of the existing municipalities into units of a size adequate to carry out their necessary legislative and administrative function."

* If the boundaries of East York were taken down to Danforth and up to Eglinton, the boundaries of York brought down to St. Clair, and the boundaries of Lakeshore brought up to Queen Elizabeth, there would be still less discrepancy in these figures.

"In this latter regard it is considered that East York is not only of reasonable size to perform its required function within the Metropolitan complex but is also a municipality with a 'community of interest' and with a recognizable identity. For this reason it is not proposed in this report that any radical change be made to the overall size of East York through the substantial addition of population."

On the other hand, in a broadcast over C.K.E.Y on Sunday, January 12th, 1964, Reeve A. M. Campbell of Scarborough said he believed his own township and North York would soon be large enough to be unwieldy and might have to be divided. The City of Toronto would never accept such a division, but it is possible that area committees, with some limited powers, could be established there in an attempt to revive the community feelings which have been lost over the years, and that representation might be established on the basis of one for the first 40,000 and one for each 50,000 after that. This would be ~~flexible~~ and could be readily readjusted as populations changed.

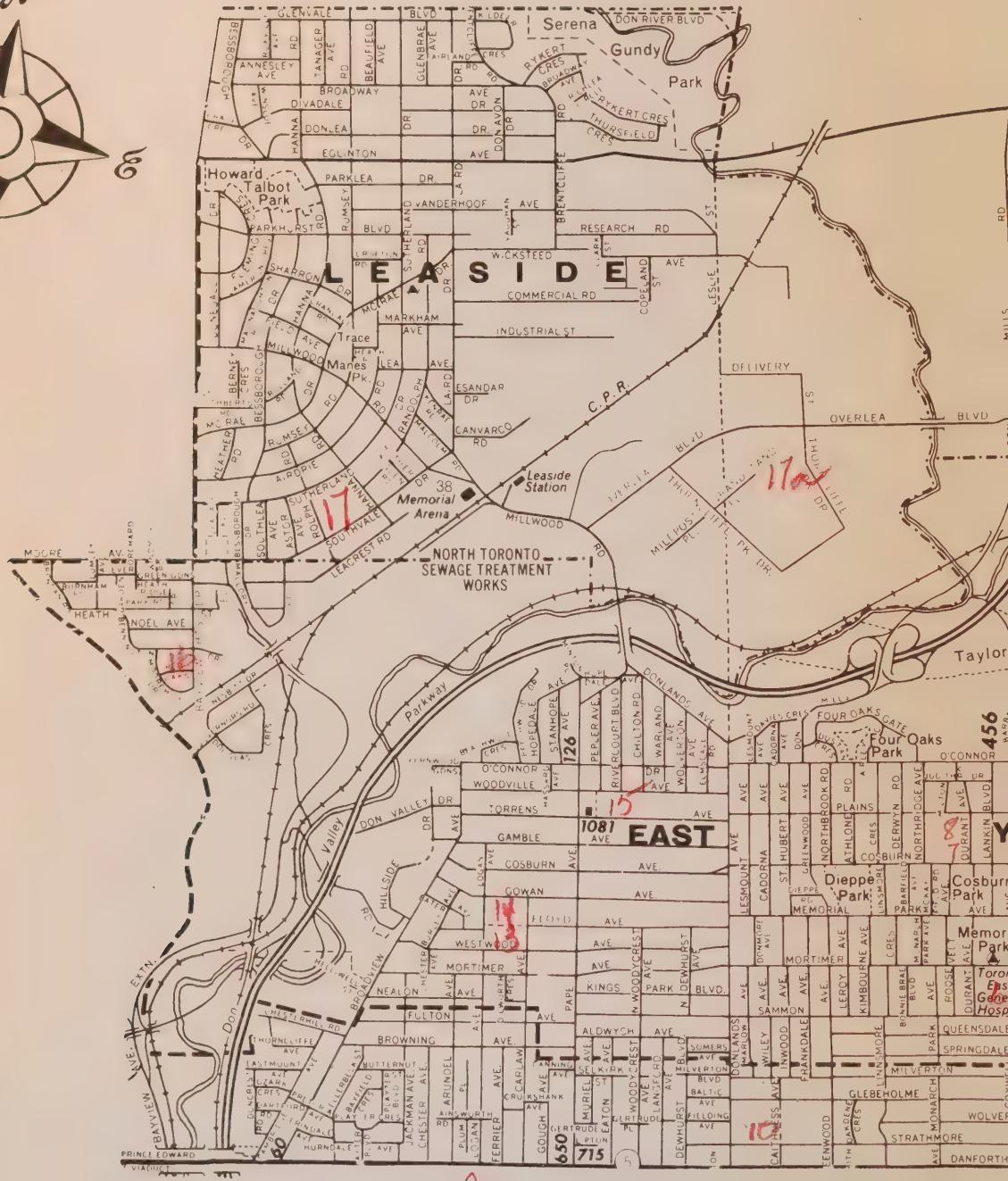
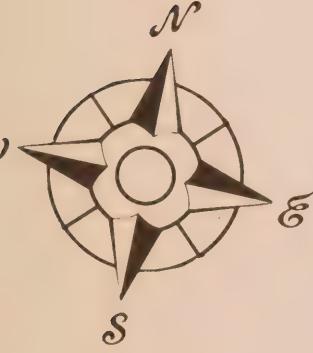
For the past six years East York has been struggling to improve its services. A community which had until then, been operating as a "sleepy country hamlet" (22) began to keep

(22) Andrew MacFarlane, in the Toronto Telegram

proper minutes, prepare realistic budgets, work in committees, prepare and implement a realistic plan and adequate zoning bylaws, bring its roads and sidewalks ⁽²³⁾ up to good urban standards, and recruit technical staff whose training and experience would command respect in any urban municipality. Our people consider our educational system second to none, and the City of Toronto regards our library as an appropriate regional centre ⁽²⁴⁾ in its grandiose plan for taking control of the entire Metropolitan area. There is nothing in the world to keep East York from giving its people, little by little, all that they need and want, except the mounting Metropolitan tax rate which we consider unnecessarily high due to ill-advised decisions at that level, and which will be considered again in section VI.

(23) It has been spending approximately a mill a year out of current income on sidewalks alone.

(24) It is beginning to receive substantial gifts and will reach regional standards unaided if it is allowed to do so.



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DEFINITION & ORGANIZATION

What's in a name? That which we call a rose
By any other name would smell as sweet.

- Romeo & Juliet

Would it smell as sweet if you called it
a skunk cabbage?

- Daddy-Long-Legs
(Jean Webster)

The query of the orphaned heroine of Jean Webster's light novel wouldn't have stuck in my mind for forty years if it had not exposed the philosophic falsity of a quotation often cited as though it conveyed a profound truth. The tragedy of Romeo and Juliet, in fact, centers around the importance of a name, a family, a tradition, and the lovers' attempt to ignore these caused their deaths. It is easier to understand separatism in Quebec when one reads Canadian history in French and realizes that les Canadiens have only one word - les anglois - for the hated Chateau clique against whom Papineau rebelled and for their fellow colonials in Upper Canada who rebelled against the same arrogance in the Family Compact. Names, like colours and songs, acquire through the years emotional overtones which cannot be ignored in political re-organization. This section which deals with names, titles and

general procedures in connection with the reorganization of the Metropolitan area into viable boroughs will therefore commence with a consideration of names.

By a curious hangover from history, municipal governments and populations are prone to assume a vested interest in lands beneath their control. They are not feudal overlords who won their lands by conquest and parcelled them out to vassals in return for services rendered. They are not comparable to cities of the Old World whose guilds bought lands and freedom from church or state, a tradition surviving in the City of London today.⁽¹⁾ Municipalities of this continent are merely bodies set up to facilitate the establishment of municipal services for the residents.

It is understandable under the present system of raising municipal funds, that the people of a municipality should resent the transfer of a valuable piece of actual or potential assessment to a neighbouring municipality where it is to serve the interest of a neighbouring municipality or the prospective developer, as when Thorncliffe Race Track was transferred from East York to Leaside.

It is true that Ontario municipalities are creatures of a senior government, which has always reserved the right to

(1) As in its right to grant or refuse entry even to a reigning sovereign.

maintain or adjust municipal boundaries as required. This right should be used, however, to establish more equitable and more efficient over-all arrangements, not to perpetuate favoured enclaves of wealth and privilege.

It is obvious that as far as possible local communities which have developed the habit of working together to achieve common ends should be kept together. If they cannot remain as independent municipal structures, they should form a recognizable part of a joint structure in which they can still preserve some of the functions they have been exercising and the loyalties they have developed.

To this end, wise governments will not ignore the significance of traditions attaching to names. Composite names, such as Yorkforest and Yorklea should be considered in this connection if consolidation takes place. The name of Weston, the second oldest municipality in the area, should be preserved if it is possible to include Weston as the core of a viable borough. In the case of Long Branch, New Toronto and Mimico, the name Lakeshore has already been accepted for use for the combined Board of Education and might be quite satisfactory. If Swansea and Ward 7 of the City of Toronto were combined to make a separate municipality, it might well be known as Swansea Park.

However, consolidation should certainly provide occasion to correct the often quite irrational existing

boundaries. In the City of Toronto and the Townships of York and East York for example, great increase in efficiency could be obtained without greatly disrupting local affiliations.

The Metropolitan Planning Board recently had a difficult problem to solve where the boundary between York Township and Toronto passed through individual lots under single ownerships, and Toronto and York had zoned the lots differently. Thus, apartments of unequal and disproportionate height were being built on assemblies of lots. The same thing is true of East York where the boundary line runs through individual houses, churches and schools, and so on, and owners are confused re provision of services, building permits, etc.

Straightening up such boundary problems should not involve so many people, or people of so differing a kind, that absorption in the new community would present a serious problem.

In connection with the correction of boundaries, we would suggest that the best boundary, the simplest, the most easily recognized, is a Metropolitan road, such as Victoria Park, Eglinton, Lawrence and St. Clair, or a provincial highway.

This does not mean abandonment of the Humber River which has been for so long the eastern boundary of Etobicoke, and the southern part of the Don River which forms a boundary between Wards I and II of the City of Toronto. But under other

circumstances, a ravine with parks and even with arterial roads can form the central core of a municipality quite as easily as a dividing line. Furthermore, in the course of urban growth, small creek and stream valleys are much more likely to disappear than Metropolitan highways and, therefore, they are less satisfactory as permanent boundaries. This is now true even of railway rights of way.

In effect, it is a matter of finding the boundary which is recognized by the people and which really effects a separation. The Danforth-East York Ministerial Association, for example, includes a number of ministers from between the southern boundary of East York and the northern side of Danforth Avenue, but it does not include churches on the south side of Danforth⁽²⁾, there evidently being a tendency for churches to draw their membership from what might be called the hinterlands of the major thoroughfares. The same thing is true of service clubs. Such a tendency indicates Danforth Avenue as an already recognized and effective boundary.

In correcting boundary lines, therefore, it is suggested that after any major consolidation is settled there should be an opportunity for local representations to be fully considered. There should be the minimum disruption of the ties which provide each municipality with its voluntary organizations and leaders, these being quite as important to community development as the elected

(2) Donlands United Church, for instance, at the corner of Donlands and Danforth, is affiliated with the Danforth-East York Ministerial Association, while St. Barnabas Anglican Church on the south side of Danforth is not.

council... .

In suggesting, for example, that the East York boundary be moved up to Eglinton, one would look first, perhaps at the school situation. Neither Sloane Avenue nor Grenoble Drive nor the proposed South Flemington Park Elementary School in North York presents really very safe access for the children from just west of Eglinton Square. If Metro connects Northline Road and Edge Park Avenue with signalized intersections, the school proposed for the new O'Connor Drive public housing development could be built on the West side of O'Connor Drive and shared by the children from Eglinton Square, 3a who could mostly come right down the west side of O'Connor Drive. This would leave space for better recreational facilities in the public housing area, and these could also be shared.

In moving it down to Danforth we would not have to consider Toronto's little Coleman Avenue Elementary School which is being closed this summer in any case, the pupils being moved to East York's Secord school. Since Toronto's Gledhill school is almost entirely within East York and nearly 400 East York children attend it, by order

(3a) In 1962 there were 38 children per class-room in Sloane Avenue School, away above the metro average.

of the Metropolitan School Board, to transfer to East York would present no difficulty - the few remaining Toronto pupils (from South of Danforth) could be transferred from Gledhill to Earl Haig where the per classroom enrolment in 1962 was only 32 as compared with 38 in Gledhill. They would be better not crossing Danforth in any case.

The western part of the proposed Danforth boundary undoubtedly presents problems, since the Toronto children in this area are served by three schools: Earl Beatty, which is a combined elementary and senior public school, including (in 1962) 157 East York children placed there by Metro; Wilkinson, which, like Earl Beatty, would henceforth be in East York, and Frankland, which is just south of Danforth and so would remain in Toronto. Since Metro is now paying for all school building, so that the site of a new building would be less important, the best solution might be for the senior classes from Earl Beatty to be transferred to a new senior school on the Earl Haig site or on the site of the new Monarch Park Collegiate. East York could hardly administer a senior school unit for Toronto, and the removal of this unit from Earl Beatty would permit a boundary adjustment eastward from Wilkinson which has been somewhat overcrowded (enrolment of 38 per classroom.) East York would manage Wilkinson and continue to receive Toronto pupils. Toronto would continue to manage Frankland and would receive East York pupils. If a new school should ever be needed in

this southwestern area, East York township already has the nucleus of a site on Aldwych Ave.,

Attention would also be paid to fire protection areas. The boundary alterations suggested above would involve the takeover by East York of North York's Bermondsey Fire Hall which would improve fire protection north east of Taylor's Creek and Massey playing fields. Another fire hall would doubtless have to be built on Don Mills Road to service Flemingdon Park, it could also help service Thorncliffe Park while the Leaside Station would help handle the Bennington Heights and Governor's Bridge areas. East York has mutual aid agreements with its neighbours and Scarborough's Warden Avenue station could help protect East York's Woodbine Gardens, but a new fire hall in the North Dawes Road area would be useful in view of road patterns and traffic conditions. East York firemen presently receive better pay than the City of Toronto men, with the same shift system. Their morale is very high and they have an enviable record of fire prevention and a very low record of fire losses.

The health and welfare services in East York could readily absorb the extra burden. The township would be happy at any time to buy or rent Dentonia Playing Field from Toronto, and has a recreation programme and parks plan which will provide facilities comparable with any in Metro.

The main East York library remain centrally located for most of the area, and is already used extensively by many Torontonians north of Danforth. It establishes small book

depots, wherever required, changing them frequently, and is considering a full-scale branch in George Webster park. The Leaside library is already used freely by residents of our Bennington Heights and Governor's Bridge area although it is not like East York's an open library.

Sewers and water mains are the least easily altered of municipal services, and would generally have to retain their present course, with metering as required, regardless of boundary changes. There would be no difficulty in East York taking over the East Don trunk sewer which serves the areas to be assumed from North York, since this is largely self contained and in any case comes down through the township. There are at present three very small residential areas along the southern border of East York draining into a Toronto system which finds an outlet in high-level interceptor sewer, and which includes roughly all the properties north of Danforth. This is assumed to be a combined system and since East York plans a separation it is possible that it might provide storm outlets for the whole area while Toronto retained responsibility for the sanitary system.

Most of the areas proposed for takeover are in the same water pressure areas as the adjoining parts of East York and it would be a simple procedure to connect dead-ended mains and terminate them at the proposed boundaries. There would also of course be an adjustment of metering points. The only apparent snag would appear to be the few blocks

between Danforth Avenue and the Birchmount pressure area which serves the south-east part of East York. We have been assured, however, that the boundaries of these pressure areas are relatively arbitrary and that here too the adjustment should create no difficulty.

It may be asked why we consider Danforth and Eglinton appropriate boundaries and ignore its Bayview extension and the Don Valley Parkway. The answer is that Danforth and Eglinton are de facto boundaries and the others are not located in the valleys, with few outlets, they are not local roads, but parkways. There are no houses on them. They cross local roads by underpasses or over-passes and hence are no barrier to local traffic. For local purposes, except noise, dust, and loss of parkland, they simply do not exist.

This is a long and prosy digression in a somewhat general approach to boundary problems, and is included merely to support the suggestion that local authorities be involved as deeply as possible in such planning.

The possible de-centralization of Toronto, so that the community feeling could be restored in its residential areas, with resultant co-operation in "de-slumification", has been discussed at intervals even among Toronto representatives, and perhaps should receive some serious study by your Commission. In addition to substituting more manageable communities for the unwieldy city and allowing smaller and more harmonious councils, this would place all the residential boroughs in the same relation to the central core⁽³⁾.

It is very difficult for the remaining area municipalities to feel the interest and sense of participation that they should in the maintenance of the central core of Toronto when they never have an opportunityh to offer an opinion until all the decisions have been made. For example, when Toronto wanted to get an Art Centre going as a Centennial project there was no reference made to Metro until committees were set up and all the major outlines of the plan were pretty clearly delineated. The mayor then suggested that Metro should make this its Centennial project and that we would all pay for it. He would probably have had no difficulty about getting his project approved if he had approached it by saying "Let's all get together on a Centennial project; what would be a good one?"

(3) It would be an improvement even to give names instead of numbers to the Toronto wards and to make provision for area advisory committees which would have some status in presenting to Toronto or to Metro, the needs, desires and fears of their community.

In this way he might have led a discussion round to the acceptance of an Art Centre as a Centennial project, and if he failed, and if Metro decided instead to put a Zoo in Scarborough or a Sports City in Etobicoke, he should have been willing to take as much pride in these projects as he would have in an Art Centre.

This applies to many of the subjects of special grants, to the difficulty regarding the reference library, to the purchase of a fireboat, the planning of the Alexandra Park renewal and many other features of city life for which Metro has been asked to share the cost.

If the City of Toronto were agreeable, there could be a decentralization, with the core turned over to Metro for direct administration. This would present administrative problems since the residents would be in the disfranchised position of the citizens of the District of Columbia in the United States, unless it were agreed that the Metropolitan Chairman should be elected from this core. Alternatively, the entire area could be divided into four or five, or even six, area municipalities, having regard to the position of its present district offices, fire halls, schools, police divisions, etc. The chains of command would shorten, red tape would be reduced and many problems would disappear.

However, there would be no point in persuading the people of Toronto to de-centralize unless provision were going to be made also for the gradual setting up of daughter communities in

- 2 -

Scarborough, North York and Etobicoke, as these townships become more thickly settled. There would doubtless be some reluctance here to accept partition in view of the magnificent central buildings which have been constructed in each municipality. If it were regarded as desirable, it would be necessary to put a stop at once to further agglomerations of buildings and staff with each of the very large municipalities being responsible for planning for its own future partition and for the establishment of services and amenities in relation to such a plan.

This would require a very high degree of foresight and selflessness on the part of both the civil service and elected officials of the municipalities concerned, but it is amazing how people will grow into the responsibilities which are placed upon them.

The establishment of patterns would be important in this connection. The maximum and minimum size of both wards and boroughs should be set forth clearly, and it is possible that even the lines of future partitions might be laid out in advance on the basis of Metro projections of population and land use.

Titles and Duties

Not unlike the need for better definition of boundaries is the need for standardization of terminologies since both simplify matters for the lay civilian. If all Metro municipalities were re-tailored to a reasonable size with rational boundaries, they should all be known as boroughs, or, if Toronto cannot bear to part with the

title of city, as cities. Since the English word generally used and understood for the head of a large urban municipality is mayor, this should be the title of the head of a Metro Toronto borough.⁽⁴⁾ Everyone knows what a councillor is, but aldermen are often co-opted rather than elected so the former title might be preferable, but whichever is used should be used uniformly throughout the area. Similarly, if we must have executives, they should all, including the Metropolitan executive, be known as controllers.

Indulging for the moment in a flight of fancy, let us however, abolish controllers, substituting finance committees. The Metro executive and local boards of control create unnecessary meeting-loads for their members, foment jealousy and unnecessarily remove matters from public discussion and decision.

Much more economical of time and much more challenging to members is the system adopted in the Metro School Board. There each member sits on only one committee. Each committee sends its reports directly to the full board, unless they involve expenditures, which have to be approved by the finance committee. The finance committee has no particular

(4) Unless the present chairman became the mayor and heads of member municipalities controllers, as in one of the suggestions studied in Section IV.

executive authority, and receives no special pay. This would ease the work load for a number of people. (5)

Elimination of boards of control and Metro executive would not only lighten the meeting load, they would also reduce jealousy. Salaries would be the same for all, and there would be no position of special honour or power to be manoeuvred for. The time at present consumed in tearing down senior executives in the hope of succeeding to their places and emoluments could then be employed in the actual business of government.

Even the mayoralties and chairmanship of Metro might be taken out of the field of self-seeking competition if they became purely liaison offices among committees and with public, rather than, in effect, underpaid city managers. Such jobs need carry no extra pay, and could rotate among members by seniority or election. Such jobs could consume

(5) Committees themselves can sometimes be streamlined in the interests of greater efficiency.

East York, for example, has the following committee set-up, each of the three members (outside the reeve) in each constellation of committees, chairing two of them and representing council on related bodies.

General Administration Committees

Finance	- Public Relations & Entertainment
Negotiation	- Fire
Legislation & By-Law	- Health & Welfare
Enforcement	
<u>General Operations Committees</u>	
Parks & Recreation	- Property
Roads	- Traffic
Works	- Building

more meeting time, but perhaps less study time, than committee chairmanships and could rotate peacefully, since anyone could stand the extra social strain for a year or two and would more readily share public engagements with others, if he had nothing to lose financially by being replaced. In fact, the real work-horses might prefer committee chairmanships if the salaries were the same.

All representatives working on the two levels would receive the same pay which would amount to perhaps \$10,000 to \$12,000. It is assumed that public-spirited citizens would be prepared to devote their full time to the public service for a limited number of years at this rate, though it must be pointed out that it is considerably below that of their own chief executives and involves considerably longer hours. Representatives working at the local level only would get half pay and be expected to work only half time. This could include the local Mayor unless he was also the Metro representative. Local Mayors and Metro representatives could be elected directly by the people or by local councils, but there should be more security of tenure, once elected. I am commencing my fourth year on Metro, including a year on the executive, and this is the first year I have really felt I had a good grasp of the Metro budget. I would suggest four year terms with some arrangements for Recall if the time is thought dangerously long.

Jobs such as membership on the Police Commission or the Licensing Commission would be unpaid as far as Metro Councillors are concerned, since no one can work more than most of them do without it, and an added job merely crowds something else out. In the interest of wider knowledge, members might rotate in such service, though if someone proved especially successful in a particular field, or indeed in a committee chairmanship, he might wish or be induced to remain with it over a period of years. (6)

With pay equalized for Metro representatives and no permanent promotion possible except from local representative to Metro representative, time-wasting competition and what is called "politicking" would surely be reduced to a minimum.

This scheme of equalization is perhaps utopian but is included here in the hope that the principle may affect the automatic inclusion of the chairman of Metro or the Mayor of

(6) Money is not the only inducement to a politician to get himself into a job or to try to hang on. The writer, for example, didn't raise a finger to get herself on the Metro executive even to the extent of arranging to be nominated, either in the year in which she was elected or in the year in which she was defeated. But she did quite a bit of lobbying to get herself on the unpaid Metro Planning Board in which she had a consuming interest.

Toronto on many paid and unpaid Metro boards and commissions.

The membership of committees, boards and commissions need not be changed every year. In fact, continuity of tenure is good where members find fields in which they are keenly interested and in which they accumulate that invaluable back-log of observations which programmes the subconscious computer in the human brain for its so-called intuitive judgements.

But each member of council should have an opportunity to become such an expert, and this is denied him by the present system of concentrating all the jobs in a few hands. Every member of Metro Council should have a good and challenging job before any man, however outstanding, gets two. (7)

Some common questions

Should the Metro chairman be elected by popular vote across the entire Metropolitan area? The answer is no. A man could conduct an election on such a scale only if he were immensely wealthy, if he were supported by a political party, or if he were supported by newspaper and other strong pressure groups. Dependence on party or group support would tie his hands.

(7) Again we refer to the East York system as outlined in footnote (4), where each councillor is in effect, a controller in the sense in which Mr. Givens tried to make the Toronto controllers cabinet ministers.

His work could not be well-known and accurately assessed by his community as it is the essence of municipal government it should be. In actual fact, the City of Toronto is already too large for this, which explains the comparatively infrequent appearance of mayors noted for sound judgment and strong leadership. A popular vote in a very large area, even on a party basis, is likely to elect the most attractive figurehead, who could be a loud-mouthed demagogue or a folksy back-slapper.

On the other hand, for its own protection, a large council will select someone who is at least a good chairman and who will do his best to provide it with the facts necessary for understanding situations and making wise decisions.

Should local mayors continue to be elected at large?
The smaller the community, the more satisfactory election at large is likely to be, since all candidates are known to many voters, and this system need not be changed in any municipality small enough to dispense with a ward system.

Observation of small boards of education where the elected body selects its own chairman suggests that choice is too difficult, and invidious in such cases, and thus mechanical rotation is common, the weak taking their turn with the strong. This would not be serious if the chairman or mayor were primarily a public relations man, with each member taking

responsibility for some field of action, but as long as executive duties attach to the top position there should be the best chance for a good choice and some continuity.

On the other hand, large boards of education, where a choice has to be made, show considerable acuteness in making it a wise one, and the choice of a mayor, whatever his responsibilities, could probably be left to the Toronto council as safely as to the Metro Council.

Should local mayors continue to represent their communities on Metro? They are the most suitable representatives, but under the present set-up this presents difficulties. A mayor of Toronto or Etobicoke on the Metro executive would have at least 2 local and 2 Metro Council meetings a month, at least 2 local and 2 Metro executive meetings, and at least 4 local and 1 Metro committee meetings in addition to his membership on some dozens more local and Metropolitan boards and commissions. He would have a meeting every day but Sunday, without counting functions. All these meetings require preparation, sometimes lengthy. When does he attend to his mail and talk to his heads of departments?

Perhaps the solution under the present system would be to make sure larger communities were divided into wards of appropriate size and let the ward representatives sit on both councils. In one-ward communities, the metro councillor

could be elected at large like a reeve or deputy reeve in a town today, and would of course sit on both bodies.

It should be added, however, that for those of a sufficiently tough physique and single-minded passion for work, it is difficult to imagine a job more challenging to the whole personality than being reeve or mayor of a local municipality and a member of Metro.

Should local councils be able to send alternates to Metro if a member is ill or absent on business? If mayors were not members of Metro Councils they could perhaps substitute for missing councillors on account of their wide general knowledge. But it takes anyone several months to become at all familiar with metro procedures and business and it's difficult to vote intelligently on one small segment of a long-term project about the rest of which you know little or nothing. Metro doesn't hurry its decisions and will always hold something over at the request of someone with a vital interest in it. Probably a system of alternates would merely create confusion.

Should the Party system be introduced into municipal politics? Certainly not. It would not necessarily produce any better leadership but it would certainly stultify private members. The party caucus would provide the individual an excuse for his failure to attempt to implement his election promises. Local decisions should be based on commonsense, good housekeeping and sizing up of community needs and desires, not

on party rivalries. Local councils in particular should be as small as possible and work together as harmoniously as possible. The division of a seven member council into government and opposition is ludicrous.

Voting Procedures. There are many undemocratic anomalies in our voting procedures, which should be straightened out.

One of the worst has to do with the multiple vote. As long as tax rates differ from municipality to municipality a man should doubtless have a vote in every municipality in which he owns property. There is no democratic justification for him having votes in several different wards of one municipality. This privilege should be withdrawn, although a voter qualified in several wards should have his choice of voting places.

The adult franchise having been given in some areas, it cannot be withdrawn, and should therefore be extended to the whole of Metro.

Should there be a plebiscite on amalgamation?

The difficulty of preparing questions on such a matter was made clear when differences in interpretation of the term were discussed in Section III

It would be impossible to provide sufficient alternatives to give everyone a choice to which he could

joyfully accede. Yet a straight yes or no ballot might necessitate a dozen referendums before the reform turned up which really caught the voters' fancy. It would be manifestly unfair, for instance, to ask an East Yorker.

'Do you prefer amalgamation? A Five-City Plan? A Four-City Plan? The Status Quo?' He would have to vote for the Status Quo, since he would completely rule out any of the suggested alternatives. In spite of this Controller Lamport (8) asked the Ontario Government to order a plebiscite on amalgamation at the municipal elections in December 1964. He stipulated "that the result would be made binding on the government".

Ron Haggert summed up the philosophy of the thing well when he said; "Referendum votes are a perfectly proper method of guiding the politicians by measuring the changes in public tastes and morality (e.g. votes on Sunday streetcars, Sunday sports and universal suffrage).

"Referendums are an improper way of deciding issues which can be judged only with great technical knowledge and experience. Politicians are elected, and paid, to reach decisions, not to fob their responsibilities on to others so that they themselves can escape the hard work and the criticism which is inevitably part of political decision-making." (9)

(8) Toronto Telegram, Dec. 18th, 1963

(9) Ron Haggart, Toronto Daily Star

THE ALMIGHTY DOLLAR

"Eat what you want. Eat lots of it.
Yes, eat too much of it. Eat till
you can just stagger across the room
with it and prop it up against a sofa
cushion...The only test is, can you
pay for it."

..... Literary Lapses,
Stephen Leacock

The purpose for which Bill 80 was originally passed has
been defined in the Gathercole Report⁽¹⁾ as follows:

- (a) It should make an effective contribution towards unifying the main services common to the whole area,
- (b) It should remove the fetters inhibiting the growth of suburban municipalities which had the geographical area but not the financial strength to provide schools and other local services,
- (c) It should provide for an effective pooling of costs which would facilitate the construction of public projects such as highways and water and sewage facilities throughout the whole area,
- (d) It should contain the power to plan on a regional scale,

(1) Pages 2-3. We were unable to check this statement of objectives in any of the printed material, so we telephoned Mr. Gathercole, who advised us that it was based on his personal notes of a committee which met under the chairmanship of Mr. Frost for six months before the publication of the Cumming Report.

- (e) It should avoid producing an upsurge in aggregate municipal costs and taxes, and
- (f) Its implementation should not impose a sudden or intolerable tax burden upon any municipality or group of people.

Although the Cumming Report, as indicated in the previous section, stressed the importance of avoiding "any unnecessary reduction of the existing powers of the local authorities with the object of preserving the greatest possible degree of local autonomy"⁽²⁾ the stress in the Gathercole statement is altogether on making the metropolitan council efficient and acceptable, and it is towards this end that the metropolitan chairmen and officials have so far directed all their energies. The fact that Scarborough and their suburban municipalities might be as much in need of "inhibitions" as Lorelei Lee⁽³⁾ or that a tax burden, however gradual, might ultimately become intolerable seems never to have occurred to these planners "on a regional scale". After agreement that the problems of Metropolitan Toronto can best be solved by a continuation of the Metropolitan system, and after recognition that good community awareness and efficient local government are hard to provide in such a way as also to provide a metropolitan council of reasonable size, it becomes apparent that the problem cannot be further complicated by an effort to reorganize local

(2) Page 45.

(3) When the eminently "makable" heroine of Anita Loos's "Gentlemen Prefer Blondes" went to Dr. Freud for psycho-analysis, he told her to go home and cultivate some inhibitions. It is possible to have too much freedom--even freedom from "fetters inhibiting growth". Who wants to be the fat lady in a circus?

municipalities in such a way as to equalize their tax resources. This would lead to boundaries even more ludicrous than those that presently exist or to futile attempts to direct industrial and commercial assessment into areas where it was felt to be needed, but might be quite inappropriate or impracticable. If Metropolitan government is to survive, there must be a completely new approach to taxation.

It is not the purpose of this section to consider possible sources of revenue. The writer believes a hotel tax in the metropolitan area would do no harm to convention and tourist business and might well provide the funds for subsidizing metropolitan cultural and other tourist attractions. If the municipal franchise is extended to all adults throughout Metro regardless of property qualifications, it would surely be inequitable not to impose some form of poll tax, though this might accrue to member municipalities. A capital gains tax on land values would be an equitable source of metropolitan revenue, since it is city growth not individual perspicacity that has basically created the new values. But all these taxes have been ably discussed at conventions and on the printed page, and perhaps most notably by the chairman and secretary of the present Royal Commission⁽⁴⁾.

(4) It is suggested, however, that the whole matter of exemptions be reviewed and that some form of regulations be imposed to ensure equal treatment in all municipalities. Two local municipalities for residential exemptions on properties below a certain assessment and there is a wide variety in the treatment of service organizations such as the YMCA, YWCA, WCTU, the Legions, the IODE, etc., some of which receive exemptions, or grants in lieu of exemptions. It should be forbidden to make grants in lieu of exemptions and the exemptions should be rigidly controlled because the pressure on councils for such help increases yearly and it is much better for them to have regulations to provide them with adequate defence against such pressure.

Two factors are of outstanding importance to Metro financing. One is shared with all Ontario municipalities. The other is related to the Metropolitan system.

Distribution of responsibilities

The present system of federal and provincial grants is complicated. It delays action, but even more it blurs responsibilities. Municipalities should not properly be concerned with federal aid since this comes to them through their provinces. They could quite properly say to the province:

"Hospitals are a provincial concern, and the province should be totally responsible for them, supplying whatever cannot be got through federal grants, voluntary contributions and business-like arrangements for hospital charges to the insurance fund. They should make similar arrangements for convalescent hospitals and out-patient clinics.

"The municipality should provide hospitals for the aged and handicapped and chronically ill, with welfare departments picking up the tab to the extent the individual could not afford to pay.

"In education the province might pay teachers' salaries on a provincially established scale to a per pupil limit.

"In housing the province might establish a subsidy per housing unit for one-two-three-four and five-bedroom units (including the federal contribution), and let the municipalities pay what they considered proper to get developments of the kind they wanted.

"Direct relief should be totally a responsibility of the province, though administration costs should be paid by the municipality so that it would have an interest in keeping these down since it would necessarily have to continue the administration.

"And so on".

In relation to the metropolitan system there is the same need for clarification of spheres of action.

Last year an attempt was made by the Special Grants Committee of the Metropolitan Council to establish criteria for claims on such aid. Some time ago there was a similar attempt to define criteria for establishment of roads as metropolitan responsibilities. These should be reviewed periodically and should be the subject matter of formal agreements between metropolitan and local authorities.

It is not considered that the building grants and the maintenance assistance payments of the Metropolitan School Board have encouraged economy or developed a co-operative spirit among local school areas. Theoretically, it is a fine idea to ignore municipal boundaries but this can only be done effectively either by total amalgamation or by voluntary co-operation. As pointed out in Section I it is considered that the arbitrary re-distribution of pupils undertaken at the beginning of Metropolitan School Board existence

had bad effects financially. The City of Toronto has always felt that it was being "milked" to help the suburbs, and the suburbs have felt that Toronto could well have afforded to help them even more if it had been less extravagant in its own area.

If the province could be persuaded to take over the cost of teachers' salaries up to a prescribed scale, the Metropolitan School Board might well provide the cost of new school building up to a somewhat more conservative ceiling cost than is at present considered acceptable. It could also provide school sites of strictly limited areas, at considerably less than is recommended where land is not as expensive as in the settled parts of Metropolitan Toronto.

Since, however, it is improbable that the province would assume the payment of teachers' salaries in the immediate future, it is probable that maintenance assistance grants will have to continue and this is assumed in the balance of this section.

Re-distribution of financial strength

Whatever the solution for the distribution of financial responsibilities for schools, hospitals, welfare projects, etc., some municipalities will be at a disadvantage and there will be constant rivalry for industrial and commercial assessment unless there can be some re-distribution of financial strength which will make this unnecessary.

The only logical way to effect this is to take the industrial and commercial assessment right out of the cockpit of local rivalries into the metropolitan field. It is recommended, therefore, that all business tax and all taxes on real property in the industrial and commercial categories be assigned to the Metropolitan Corporation for use throughout the entire metropolitan area. This is equitable as well as logical because it is business and industry which profit most from population growth and mobility which it has been the province of Metro to promote.

Residential taxation can then be left entirely to the local municipality which can provide its residents with the services they need, or desire, and could afford to buy.

This scheme would have the advantages indicated in the report of the Metropolitan Corporation on Revenue and Taxation⁽⁵⁾.

It would assign much larger revenues to the Metropolitan Corporation than were suggested for the Metropolitan Winnipeg Corporation by the Goldenberg Report, but this is perhaps appropriate in view of the much larger responsibilities of the Metropolitan Toronto Corporation.

Since non-residential assessment was 46% of total assessment in 1962⁽⁶⁾, this would give the Metropolitan Corporation a

(5) Page 6, Sept. 6, 1961.

(6) Page 15, Metropolitan Toronto 1953-1963.

somewhat larger share⁽⁷⁾ of the total revenues than it received in 1963 when the Metropolitan Corporation levied 24.34 mills as compared with 33.66 in East York with correspondingly higher local rates in Toronto, York and Scarborough, and correspondingly lower rates in the other area municipalities. However, now that the Metropolitan Corporation has agreed to assume all school costs, its share of the total rate will gradually rise. Indeed it is talking of assuming several services, and if any of these are assigned to it by the present Royal Commission, it would need all the funds assigned to it under the plan suggested above.

(7) The total local levy in 1962 for both school and general purposes throughout Metro was \$253,183,890 (figures prepared for the Toronto brief with the co-operation of other area municipalities) whereas the Metropolitan levy totalled only \$103,104,193.

THE ETERNAL CONFRONTATION

"And the fight goes on forever.

Twixt that darkness and that light."

James Russell Lowell
(On the Present Crisis)

Although the second section of this statement attempted to determine the kind of city we should strive to build, it did not attempt to establish power priorities. As the work has progressed, however, it has become increasingly evident that even professed anti-amalgamationists line up in two camps in this field.

One shares the views of Mr. Lubbock⁽¹⁾ about local governments. "Merely to replace these institutions by tidier administrative arrangements would, in the words of the Royal Commission, be "as unwise and unrealistic as it would be to drive a motorway through St. Paul's." This camp would surrender no powers to Metro unless there is specific proof that necessary services cannot be provided otherwise.

(1) U.K. House of Commons Debates.
Hansard, Vol. 669, No. 31, col. 278. Tuesday, Dec. 11th, 1962

The second camp would have no more hesitation in driving a motorway through St. Paul's if it was necessary to what they considered a good traffic pattern, than they would in swatting a fly.

Mr. C. Wright Mills has described this conflict of "Forces Shaping Our Cities" (2) in part as follows;

"The forces that are shaping the big city are structural forces. But the awareness and the effective action of 'the citizens' are limited to a scatter of local milieux. That, I think, is a good definition of what is meant by a mass society, and of the city as its major locale. As we become more aware of our condition we come to feel that we are living in a world in which we are merely spectators. We are acted upon, but we do not act. We feel that our personal experience is civically irrelevant, and our political will a minor illusion. We live in metropolitan areas that are not communities in any real sense of the word, but rather unplanned monstrosities in which we are, as men and women, segregated into narrow routines and limited milieux.....

Given all those forces that have made our cities

(2) The Troubled Metropolis, C.I.P.A. Report on 5th Annual Winter Week-end Conference, 1959. Pages 27 ff.

less political and more administrative; all the mass communications that do not truly communicate; all the metropolitan segregation that is no community --- what is happening is the decline of a set of publics that is sovereign, except in the most formal and in the most rhetorical sense Reasonable and human plans seem utopian, from the standpoint of the practical and irrational, the often stupid and selfish interests that are now shaping our big cities.....

"Is the ugly, frustrating and irrational structure of the city now due so much to fate, to haphazard forces, or can you now identify circles of men who are responsible for decisions that affect the innumerable milieux that make up the city? Historically, the answer is obviously fate. But the bulldozer fleet and the real estate interests are now putting an end to fate of this kind. And city governments too -- surely you will agree that often they are now most readily understandable as committees for a complex of real estate interests?

"There has been much talk about the lack of any discernible order in our present environment. I think this largely nonsense. Is not the common denominator capital gain and material accumulation? Is not the pattern of our environment very largely that of real estate interests and advertising maniacs? To such types our cities are not at all disorderly; on the contrary, they are as orderly as the files to title deeds."

We, in East York prefer human values to the mechanistic development of a vast complex of material achievements. We are therefore in the camp which would keep Metropolitan powers to a minimum and foster the work of local municipalities. We see the functions of the Metropolitan corporation as subservient rather than superior to local needs.

Works Department

The Metropolitan Works Department exists, in our view, to check air and water pollution and to provide such trunk sewers and water mains as are necessary to enable the local municipalities to service their communities. They have gone so far in providing such services to the outer suburbs, that development is leaving the core and the inner ring. It is suggested that they ought now to be either providing joint interceptor sewers through the city and the inner suburbs or providing storm trunks for separations to relieve the present joint sewers and thus helping to eliminate one cause of water pollution.

They should also take over the provision of facilities for sanitary land fill or other types of garbage disposal at reasonable intervals throughout the area.

The same applies to snow dumping facilities. These are needs which cross municipal boundaries and Metro can meet them with a minimum of interference in local affairs.

No need is seen for the amalgamation of building departments since variety is not displeasing here, and federal codes are so widely used for reference as to prevent serious errors.

Roads and Traffic.

East York has been, for some time, disputing the Metropolitan Roads policy, which appears to be that the residents who pay local improvement taxes for local roads have no rights in them. We claim that local and Metropolitan roads should be clearly differentiated. Metropolitan roads should provide for all through traffic.

Local authorities should be free to adopt whatever measures they think best to protect the lighter construction and residential quiet of local roads. If Metro objects to such measures, it should be prepared to take over the streets involved, but this should be done only as a last resort. Traffic controls should be planned as much to convenience pedestrians as to expedite motorists. It is unlikely that any more crosswalks would be removed to facilitate computer control of traffic if local authorities had a voice in traffic planning as they should. In extreme cases Metro should establish underpasses or overpasses rather than break the communications of residential communities.⁽³⁾

Law Enforcement

The activities of the police and the administration of justice are Metro responsibilities but should be better correlated with local activities as indicated in the next section. It is generally believed by the suburbs that a more

(C) General problems of transportation will be discussed in Section IX.

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adequate police presence would contribute to the maintenance of law and order.

Greater local control of certain types of licensing is desired by several municipalities and it would obviously be desirable to have better communication re undesirable uses or users, together with a means of revoking licenses where the nuisance becomes unbearable to the neighbourhood and no co-operation is given the local authorities.

On the other hand, there are those who would have Metro assume the fire services and all health and welfare costs. The latter require a separate section to consider but the former we could at once dismiss as unnecessarily extravagant at present. A year ago the burning of the Palace Pier created a new demand for unification of the fire services. This has already been studied twice by Metro and turned down each time. Some formula for co-operation might be worked out similar to that at present operating between Leaside and East York, but it is difficult to see how equipment could be standardized across the area without a great deal of unnecessary cost.

Planning

In planning, too, more should be left to local boards and councils, Metro Planning Board intervening only when there is a clash between local authorities or a local and the Metro authority.

The planning set-up is one of the worst-devised features of the entire Metropolitan government, and can be explained only by

the limited understanding of planning which was current in Ontario a decade ago.

Local authorities are completely at the mercy of the central authority with the central authority acting as judge of its own conduct. The Metro planning board is large in numbers, and its members come from a wide area reaching far beyond the metropolitan boundaries. Its members are busy men and women whose time for this unpaid work is very limited. Most of them never see the local areas on whose road closings, subdivision plans and zoning amendments they pass judgement. They must rely almost entirely on the facts presented to them by the planning commissioner. He, however, regards himself as an official of Metropolitan Toronto and responsible for giving effect to the wishes of the Metropolitan Council within the financial limits it sets.

Ordinarily the functions of a regional planning board and local boards would be much easier to distinguish. This situation is complicated by the extra metropolitan level.

Ideally, we would have a Metropolitan Regional Planning Authority which would cover all the limits of the Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority as well as that of the present Metropolitan Planning Board.(4)

(4) They are by no means identical, since one is determined by river valleys and the other by projected urban development.

- The functions of the Regional Planning Authority would be:
- (a) To establish a very simple regional plan, in bold outlines only, indicating areas in which services could and could not be supplied at dates to be approximately forecast, major transportation routes and open spaces in relation to the entire area, and suggested general proportions of development, including a general waterfront plan.
 - (b) To operate a continuous programme of research for the benefit of member municipalities.
 - (c) To adjust the proposed regional plan so as to accommodate local suggestions in harmony with its general spirit, thus gradually building up a mosaic, combining the best thinking at all levels.
 - (d) To intervene in local plans only when this is absolutely necessary to preserve conservation properties, prevent premature or excessive development, or aid conflicting local authorities to find acceptable compromises.

It would be primarily a technical committee and might comprise (a) the senior planning officials of all the areas involved, (b) representative elected officials appointed for at least their full elected term and preferably reappointed automatically if re-elected, (c) representatives of the Community Planning Association of Canada, the Board of Trade, the Toronto Harbour Commission, the Toronto and District Labour Council and similar bodies, (d) appropriate representation from the federal and provincial authorities. The Metropolitan Chairman might well be a member ex officio.

Conformity to its plan could be mandatory only if this were adopted by a majority, both by population and by governments, in the area covered. If such a plan were properly done, however, it would have great prestige whether or not it was ever formally endorsed.

Much of the success of such a planning board would depend on a constant flow of thought and opinion between the board, the member councils and the public.

Its research function would be the department's most important contribution, perhaps, but it would be invaluable too in its function as a co-ordinator and even, in a sense, an arbitrator. It could also spend a good deal of time in public education.

If it is impossible to set up such a regional authority, the present planning board should be reduced in size. Terms for elected officials should be longer, and the custom of including Metro committee chairmen ex officio should be discontinued since many have little interest in creative regional planning and if they are not pretty generally familiar with the subject when they come on the Board they have hardly the chance to become competent members before they retire again.

The work should be much as outlined above for a regional authority, since it is manifestly ridiculous for a resident of Pickering or Port Credit to be considering detailed sub plans for block zoning in the Township of North York.

Above all, planning should be entirely separated from the preparation of municipal programmes, which is quite a different sort of planning and is the responsibility of the commissioners, committees and councils responsible for implementing the programmes.

Planning boards and planning commissioners should recommend in a general way the very best land use, and the very finest services installed in the most efficient way, but it should not be their function to consider the financial or political practicability of their plans except in the most limited way.

If the Metro Planning Commissioner were not so deeply involved in the programming of all Metro committees he would be in a much better position to look at both sides in a dispute between authorities, present arguments both pro and con and help to find a solution. He should never feel that he is committed to support the position of the Metropolitan Council against that of an area municipality or individual unless it is the only practicable solution to a problem. Otherwise, where there is a dispute he should seek a mutually satisfactory compromise, just as he would do if there were a conflict of criteria within his own field.

Education and culture

We have been informed that our Board of Education is submitting its own brief against amalgamation of school systems. We agree. We feel that the close contact of our Board with our people through home and school associations and a multitude of other ratepayer

groups ensures that our people get the education they want and will use. Our schools and staff are closely integrated with the general humanitarian, cultural, recreational, religious and other social activities of the Township and we feel that the education of our children benefits from these community contacts.

However, we feel that there must be some control on school building expenditure and some correlation with other public services. Amalgamation would serve to inflate costs because of the pressure for all schools to have facility and frill possessed by every one of them. We suggest that they be subject to review by the local or Metropolitan council, or, preferably, limited by Department of Education formulas, at least until such time as population becomes stabilized throughout the greater part of Metro.

There should also be very much closer collaboration between school boards and councils as suggested by the Conference on School Building recently sponsored by the Minister of Education. Big recreation centres could be dispensed with if swimming pools and gyms were instead attached to schools. School and public libraries could also be combined. School grounds should merge in playing fields and parks, and should be designed for winter as well as summer use.

We would, however, have no objection to the assumption of the total cost and operation of the Toronto Central Library, by the Metropolitan School Board perhaps, or by a Librarian responsible

only to the Metropolitan Special Grants Committee, provided our financial scheme were adopted so that such costs would not prevent area municipalities from servicing their own communities.

Similarly there could be no objection to Metro being responsible for all subsidies to cultural groups and even running the Canadian National Exhibition if Toronto wished this, provided Metro drew its resources entirely from business and industry, the high taxes on which first enabled the city to embark on these splendid programmes, and provided these were fully accepted as Metropolitan projects.

General Comments

Costs usually go up under amalgamation and efficiency usually decreases as the chain of command lengthens. The City of Toronto has recently experienced this with its Works Department.

Costs go up also under the system of operation of the Metropolitan School Board and we would not recommend the extension of the two-level system to library boards or similar bodies.

There are many requests from the City of Toronto that Metro should take over as varied responsibilities as the new fireboat, the proposed centre for the performing arts (as a centennial project), a float in the Grey Cup parade, an Olympic-size swimming pool. In most cases the plans are made entirely by the city, the costs incurred, and the control retained. These are not Metro projects, and there would be, in fact, tremendous opposition if Metro tried to take them over. To prevent this constant conflict, we recommend

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that Metro be debarred from assuming the financial responsibility for any existing institution, service, or other facility, which it does not intend to operate entirely on its own responsibility, and, in future, for any that it has not itself planned, organized, built, constructed or otherwise prepared for use.

In short, we would urge the least possible interference with present conditions. Uncertainty of tenure of local governments and and constant pressure from amalgamationists for assumption of more services by Metrp have militated against efficient and economical administration. The so-called "creeping amalgamation" of the past ten years should be halted. Accordingly we recommend that any re-distribution of powers which must be made at this time, if there should be such, should be considered the last. This would allow good long-term planning and would encourage careful use of funds.

VIII

HEALTH & WELFARE

"Please, sir, I want some more."

Oliver Twist

It has been suggested earlier in this statement that a danger attendant on the establishment of the Metropolitan system was that it removed the natural checks on premature and excessive development. ⁽¹⁾ Prior to 1953, development in the outer suburbs was almost at a standstill for lack of such basic services as water and sewage. Once Metro guaranteed, in effect, to supply these, development sprawled all over the area without restraint, so that new difficulties arose, as serious in their way as those which had been eliminated. These were excessive demands for services which ordinarily would not have been expected so early in a process of urban development.

Ordinarily, people move out from an urban core to peripheral suburbs in an effort to get the same accommodation for less money or at any rate for a lower down payment,

(1) It will be remembered how the rabbits became a plague in Australia in the absence of their natural enemies.

or to get better accommodation for the same money or the same down payment. They find they lack certain services to which they were accustomed or which they knew to be available in the inner core, and band themselves together to secure these. Thus, they gradually form new urban communities within the larger and looser township organizations in which they find themselves.

The metropolitan system by-passed this process, as far as the basic services were concerned. New subdivisions were set up with water and sewage where they would formerly have begun with wells and septic tanks. The newspapers and the Toronto politicians kept dinging it into them that they should have all city services and amenities. Being human, they might be expected to accept this doctrine enthusiastically and look to outside help to furnish, by the flick of some miraculous wand, services, the struggle to obtain which is an essential part of community maturation.

This is particularly notable in regard to services concerned with health and what is usually called welfare. These are closely controlled and heavily subsidized by senior levels of government but respective responsibilities are singularly ill defined.

The great weakness of Canadian Socialism is that so much of it has been introduced and administered by governments to which its very name is anathema and who are consequently either unable to see the problems they are creating or unwilling to deal with them realistically.

The Needs and Resources Study of the Metropolitan Social Planning Council⁽¹⁾ represents the first concerted effort to disentangle the welter of private and public projects and responsibilities on all levels, and senior government decisions are badly needed before the proper relation of Metro and its member municipalities can be finally assessed.

This Study can approach the matter only by applying the criteria formulated in Section VI to such services as are already fully recognized as local or metropolitan responsibilities with such comments on the responsibilities of higher levels of government as seem obvious and have a wider than metropolitan application.

Running through all services in the closely related fields of health and welfare is the common problem of applying socialized measures in a private enterprise society. In our effort to spare the truly unfortunate the odium of being dependent on charity (repugnant to the independent ideals of private enterprise) we have suggested that the world owes everyone a living and that only a quixotic fool would pay for anything he could get "free"⁽²⁾ from the government.

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- (1) A Study of the Needs and Resources for community-supported welfare, health and recreation services in Metropolitan Toronto, Social Planning Council, 1963. Hereinafter cited as the Needs and Resources Study.
 - (2) For example, a working couple, in quite easy circumstances requiring vaccination before a trip abroad, were quite indignant at the lack of evening clinics and the suggestion that they might ask their own doctor to do the job or take an afternoon off, either of which would have cost them money. They did not realize how much evening clinics would increase the tax rate.

The subject matter of this section may be grouped under four major headings:

Hospitals (including general and special active treatment and mental hospitals, convalescent, chronic and domiciliary institutions),

Other health care (including so-called public health, home nursing and various forms of special diagnosis or care, together with public ambulances),

Welfare (including maintenance assistance and services to children, youth, aged persons and the physically or mentally or morally handicapped),

Public housing (overlapping with the above but so significant financially and presenting so many problems as to justify separate consideration).

1. Hospitals

It is perhaps characteristic of municipalities that we should blame the province for our difficulties, but there really seems some justification for our doing so in the case of the present hospital bed shortage. The provincial hospital insurance scheme has certainly helped to increase the demand for accommodation, and no provincially planned building programme preceded and accompanied its introduction as was the case in Saskatchewan.

There was no attempt to select hospitals of more than local significance which should be considered, like mental hospitals, as the total responsibility of senior levels of government, or at least of very large regions, depending on their teaching significance, degree of specialization, research activities, etc. Instead, the whole onus of hospital building was laid on private effort and ill-financed municipal governments, with the result that there are fewer active treatment beds

than are required in some areas and more in others, and that there has been little attempt to mitigate the need for very expensive accommodation by programmes for out-patients home care, after-care, and convalescent, chronic and domiciliary institutions.

The elaborate and expensive services which are considered standard in modern metropolitan hospitals have raised the cost per bed to heights to which financial help from senior governments is quite disproportionate. The refusal of the provincial government to recognize any responsibility beyond this is the more illogical in view of the far-reaching controls exercised by the province through the Ontario Hospital Commission.

In a supposed free enterprise system, surely it would be proper for a hospital insurance scheme to cover the cost not only of current maintenance but also of debt retirement⁽³⁾.

Perhaps this could be done more readily under a socialist government which would not work through free enterprise procedures. However, it is the more necessary here in that our free-enterprise system permits, if indeed it does not actually encourage, the exploitation of such socialist services⁽⁴⁾. There is

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- (3) This is especially necessary in a large metropolitan hospital where there are 25% out-of-town patients, for whom it is manifestly inequitable that the local taxpayers should have to take up the slack.
 - (4) Exploitation of unemployment insurance is another example of a socialist measure vitiated by lack of the socialist disciplines which would have to accompany it to make it properly workable. (Such measures would, however, involve a regimentation which would never be acceptable in this country.)

no attempt, and perhaps there is no possible means, under a free-enterprise system, to establish such priorities⁽⁵⁾ as would avoid the occasional dangerous delay in handling critical cases, while additional hospitals were being built as the provincial government (or whoever it is ultimately established should take the responsibility) could afford to do so.

At present no attempt is being made to determine responsibility. Instead, intensive publicity campaigns and pressures from powerful individuals or groups are used to cajole or coerce municipal governments into make hospital grants which they cannot or should not afford.

It might be proper for municipalities to establish local hospitals for their own residents for run-of-the-mill pediatric and obstetric cases, simple operations, emergency treatment and diagnostic procedures, but large hospitals engaged in highly specialized work, and often serving as teaching hospitals, are surely a provincial

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- (5) "Then again many authorities who have made a life-long study of health problems believe that hospitals, here and elsewhere, are cluttered up with patients who don't really need to be there. "Emergency services are shamelessly abused by people who are not emergencies at all, who are trying to avoid a private doctor's fee or haven't the patience to wait their turn in his office. "There is also the peculiarly North American attitude to maternity. "'It's not necessary to deliver the average baby in hospital', the Star was told by Dr. F. Burns Roth, head of U. of T.'s department of hospital administration. "Expressing a view that many doctors disagree with, he said: "'Babies can be born at home quite safely in most cases and figures of infantile mortality in countries like Britain, that are as good as our own, prove this.' But he went on to warn that a change could not be made overnight: "'An entirely new organization would be needed and doctors and nurses would have to be retrained'."

-- The Star, February 29, 1964.

responsibility⁽⁶⁾.

Municipalities in which such larger provincial hospitals were established might properly make to them such contributions as would have been appropriate to more simply planned and equipped local hospitals should these large provincial institutions obviate the necessity for the smaller local establishments. The responsibility of the municipality would thus be limited to giving help to ensure the provision of basic hospital needs⁽⁷⁾ as it is limited to the provision of basic needs in other fields.

Since the studies of the Committee for Survey of Hospital Needs in Metropolitan Toronto⁽⁸⁾ suggest that as many people as possible should be within two or three miles of a hospital, it is suggested that this should be the responsibility of member municipalities rather than of the entire metropolitan area, if it is ultimately determined that even local hospitals are indeed a municipal responsibility.

It might be simpler and more equitable, however, for the province to take over completely the active treatment hospitals, tying them into the operation of the Hospital Insurance Scheme which

(6) By analogy with universities, research institutes, etc., they are beyond the financial means and organizational scope of municipalities.

(7) It should be noted that neither Metropolitan Toronto nor any of its member municipalities actually operates any hospital, since these in our free-enterprise system, are operated by private boards under the Ontario Hospital Services Commission.

(8) Active treatment hospitals in Metropolitan Toronto, May, 1963, pp. 153-172. Hereinafter cited as Metro Hospital Survey.

was surely designed to provide for such care, and leaving entirely to municipalities the provision of nursing homes, hospitals for chronic invalids, and the home care which is so intimately associated with other local welfare responsibilities. The division here would be between the institutions, a field in which Metro is already deeply involved, and the home care which at present varies greatly from municipality to municipality but which any amendments arising out of the Goldenberg Report could present to them as a specific challenge.

If the Metropolitan Council undertakes to finance hospitals it will try to give as much help to city as to suburban hospitals⁽⁹⁾ while the Metro Hospital Survey cited above suggests that the important growth area for the next few years should be in the "outer municipalities",⁽¹⁰⁾ and common sense indicates that the hospitals to which Mr. Allen would direct most of his funds are those which by most criteria could be regarded as distinctly provincial responsibilities.

In connection with hospitals, it is, therefore, recommended as follows:

(9) Metropolitan Chairman William Allen, quoted in Toronto Daily Star, Feb. 15, 1964, wanted to spend \$3,577,178, with the largest portion of that sum, \$1,256,395 slated for Wellesley hospital. The Sick Children's and St. Michael's would share about \$1,054,000. The balance would be distributed between the Orthopedic and Arthritic, North York Branson, Toronto East General, Northwestern General and Queenway General hospitals.

(10) Page 154.

- (a) The Ontario Hospital Services Commission be given authority to plan and co-ordinate planning for hospitals in Metro and throughout the province, along the lines suggested by Mr. Brosseau in his address to the Ontario Hospital Association on October 28, 1963⁽¹¹⁾.
- (b) The provincial government, with federal assistance, assume the total responsibility for providing necessary aid for active treatment hospitals, especially those with teaching and research programmes, private boards to continue to spearhead drives and build and operate such hospitals under O.H.S.C. supervision, with such aid as local municipalities care to provide in order to encourage the location of hospitals in their communities⁽¹²⁾, such aid to be by a special mill rate approved by plebiscite.
- (c) County and metropolitan governments continue to operate chronic hospitals and homes for the aged, and handicapped, with grants from senior governments as at present, and such aid (usually in site procurement) as may be provided by the local municipality for reasons similar to those in footnote 12 all under the co-ordinated planning of the central authority. In this regard, a hospital for the chronically ill such as Riverdale should probably be operated, if not directly under the Metropolitan Council, at least by a board appointed by and responsible to it.

(11) Regional Planning for Hospitals, Bernard L.P. Brosseau, reprinted, *Globe and Mail*, Nov. 1, 1963.

(12) The local community may wish its own hospital for reasons of prestige or revenue provided to local business as suggested by Mr. Brosseau (*Op. cit.*, pp. 4-5) or because it is a desirable asset in a residential community.

(d) The responsibility for home care in cases designed as suitable for such treatment be assigned to the local municipality.

2. Other Health Services

Although there is periodically an outcry for the amalgamation of all health services in the greater Toronto area, these usually are based on little more than attractive theory. Disease, like crime, laughs at municipal boundaries, but there is no indication that inadequate health services in any particular area have created, or are likely to create, centres of infection. If, as is assumed, local boundaries are to be adjusted, differences between local health organizations will naturally provide less ammunition for amalgamationists and it is suggested that the extent of free dental care and similar special services is quite properly a matter for the local taxpayers and their elected representatives to decide.

East York, for example, has recently made an arrangement with the Visiting Homemakers to supply a service to elderly people in the township, which is probably more closely related to health than to welfare, though it partakes of both. We feel justified in this because of the very high proportion of elderly persons in our population and the need which has been actually documented by our Health Unit. This service might not be needed at all in a younger community like Scarborough or a wealthier one like Forest Hill.

By thus leaving public health and special services with the local community, we permit them to be tailored to meet its needs and at the same time facilitate health education, which depends a great deal on local contacts, and sanitary measures which demand close co-operation with local works and building departments. Such local control does not prevent co-operation between health units and boards of health at the time of an epidemic such as poliomyelitis, and indeed top-level professional interchange and consultation are constant.

There is a field of special services, however, which involves co-operation with voluntary agencies and which is appropriate at the Metropolitan level. This involves experimental programmes and programmes of a highly specialized nature in which the need is not sufficiently great in any one municipality to justify local participation. The metropolitan corporation has entered this field to some extent already by making special grants to voluntary agencies. It should be prepared to give continuing support to such programmes or, if required, to take them over and enlarge them so that they meet the total Metro need.

There are still two fields about which many feel dissatisfaction: mental health and special disabilities. The latter is perhaps more a matter of welfare, but the increase of mental illness and emotional disturbance suggest a need for much more action by senior governments or greater municipal participation in

the field. Most boards of education have trained psychologists who administer tests and help refer students to special classes, but only Toronto, I believe, has the services of a trained psychiatrist. As mentioned in section VII, it is suggested that the schools play a much larger part in this field.

There is doubtless a problem in staffing provincial clinics, but it would seem desirable to have at least one for every 40,000 or 50,000 people, and if municipalities have to share the cost (in East York we merely provide the quarters) they should be glad to do so and it should be made clear that this is their responsibility.

Ambulances should perhaps be mentioned here, since there has been a good deal of talk about them lately. I am not personally convinced of the need, or indeed of the desirability of a public ambulance service. Any discussions to date have been highly coloured and emotional statements by amalgamationist newspapers and politicians, about "invisible geographical boundariesas harsh and real as the Berlin Wall" which keep the injured from care and the veteran from hospital.⁽¹³⁾ Again on August 26, 1963, an editorial in the Telegram declared:

"We are dealing here with the parochial mind enclosed by municipal boundaries. This kind of mind resists the co-ordination of civic services. It took time for organizing the police on an

(13) Ray Hill, Toronto Telegram (clipping not dated).

"area-wide basis. So with air pollution and all the rest.

"We are still battling with the resisters to have firefighters treat Metro Toronto as a whole community instead of a patch-work of jurisdictions. To get belated minds to agree to an extension of Toronto's publicly owned ambulance service will obviously require another hassle.

"But it has to be done. The multiplying instances of ambulance delays indicate that it is a matter of life and death. How much easier living would be in these parts if we could achieve amalgamation and its concomitant of unified services."

In actual fact it is not parochialism but lack of conviction that is holding up a public ambulance system. There is no proof that emergencies would be better covered by public ambulances. North York has one at Don Mills fire-station, but would be glad to turn it over to Toronto, because it is "answering only about three calls a week" and "sitting idle 90 per cent of the time"⁽¹⁴⁾. Yet it was on Don Mills Road in North York that an accident case waited 20 minutes for an ambulance evoking an impassioned plea from the Toronto Daily Star⁽¹⁵⁾ for a Metro-wide public ambulance service.

The City of Toronto has "an integrated publicly owned service, with five stations"⁽¹⁵⁾ operated by the Health Department, but "linked by radio to the Metropolitan Police Department. Dr. A.R.J. Boyd⁽¹⁶⁾

(14) Councillor Murray Chusid, cit. *Globe & Mail*, Feb. 4/64.

(15) *Star Editorial*, August 24, 1963.

(16) Toronto's Medical Officer of Health.

has reported that the service of the private ambulances is slower than that of the city-owned system, but at the time of Mayor Summerville's death a city ambulance took 12 minutes to travel from Davisville and Yonge to George Bell Arena on Ryding Avenue while a private ambulance was available eight blocks away. Metro could quite properly demand that all ambulances have radio communication with the police and avoid such unnecessary delays.

It is doubtful, however, if Metro should get itself involved in the tremendous expense and elaborate organization of a public service which would really cover the wide and unevenly settled metropolitan area. Dr. Boyd said it would cost \$53,000 a year to put two part-time ambulances on a full-time basis⁽¹⁷⁾.

They now operate 16 hours a day, 5 days a week, or 80 hours a week. Since this is about half a week, a full-time service would probably cost about \$110,000. This is many, many times the cost of operating a private ambulance. The number of ambulances required to cover the metropolitan area properly depends on the travel time considered permissible to reach a patient, but if there were one at every fire station the cost would be very considerable.

Of course, cost should not be weighed in the balance with human life, but if Metro wanted to set aside an extra four million

(17) Star, February 17, 1964.

a year it might perhaps save more lives by providing a couple of hundred more hospital beds than by providing 40 ambulances which even then would not provide a quick service to all points in Metro, particularly in the case of road accidents at rush hour.

In addition, since this would be an emergency service, there would be the difficulty of making sure it was kept for emergencies and not dispatched on routine trips which might remove it from its proper area just when it was needed most. People will invariably try to take advantage of a service which is free or which they think may be free.

If public ambulances are a must, they should be combined with emergency vans such as are at present available from some fire stations, since these serve a wider range of uses and are less likely to be taken advantage of.

In connection with general health services, then, it is recommended that:

- (a) These be maintained at the local level, but that the nature of the local responsibility be enlarged and better defined, particularly in regard to mental health and in relation to voluntary organizations providing services needed by large numbers of people in a municipality.

(b) The Metropolitan Council continue to aid, and take over and enlarge, if necessary, programmes for the treatment, rehabilitation, etc., of special small groups gathered from the entire metropolitan area.

(c) Ambulances be left to local authorities, to be operated by boards of health or in conjunction with fire departments as they prefer, but that police-tuned radios be a pre-requisite of all licenses, public or private, so that in case of accident or other emergency the vehicle nearest the scene can take the call.

3. Welfare

In reading the briefs of gifted amateurs, of which several have been available for examination, it is easy to detect the wishful thinking of the idealist. One reeve who was an ardent socialist before her entry to public life has earned the execrations of her former friends because bitter experience has disillusioned her with many of the measures presently used for ~~the~~ distribution of buying power. She is as anxious as ever to aid the underprivileged and redeem the lost but has come to realize that material assistance does not hold the real key to these goals.

The draft Brief of the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto to the Goldenberg Commission views with alarm the fact that, "in some instances the allowance granted to a recipient varied appreciably as he moved out of one area municipality and into another. This was the case even when the other resources and circumstances of the recipient remained constant." ^(x) They also note with sorrow that if "area municipalities continue to set their own policies regarding levels and standards of assistance..... variations and irregularities presumably would continue to exist."^(y) With a praiseworthy passion for order these

(x) Version of February 28, 1964, Page 12

(y) C.p.cit. Page 13

good people urge that "all public assistance programs be based on sound and clearly defined standards with respect to the amount of assistance, at a level consistent with health and decency". (y) They speak of the need "of qualified staff to administer the programs, and to provide casework and counselling services", (y) and the implication underlying some of their presentations seems to be that the difference between the net welfare cost to the City of \$5.89 in 1961 and the corresponding costs in the suburbs, ranging from 42.22 to 69¢ represent a difference in quality as well as quantity, and that the suburbs are therefore not serving the needs of their people as well as the City does.

It is suggested that this is quite untrue. None of us are serving the needs of our people in ideal fashion, but this is due rather to human weakness than to lack of good will or proper financing. Neither the city nor the suburbs can show any real progress in rehabilitation of hard-core problem families. But it is permissible to ask whether the weaker brother, who through ineptitude or laziness or simple misfortune finds himself a public charge is not tempted to cling to a condition in which the head of a large family can get paid more for staying at home than for taking the only kind of work of which he is capable.

(y) Op. cit. Page 13

In a small community a welfare director comes very soon to recognize the individuals who shrink from public aid, apply for it only in extreme need, and seek only means of returning to independence, and the slacker who can only be driven back to work by making things as difficult for him as possible.

At any rate a study of the average time people remain on relief and the frequency of their return to it should be made before it is assumed that the city approach is better merely because it is more expensive.

It may be added that just as air will pour in to fill a vacuum, demand will pour in to take up most free or subsidized services. Several devoted people, convinced of a need for day care services in East York, have made repeated vain efforts to document this need. Encouraged by the Area Social Planning Council, a small project has been inaugurated on a voluntary basis, and no doubt users will be recruited, but the East York Council is appropriating funds only for putting Visiting Homemakers services at the disposal of the aged, a need which was documented.

The uniformity which the Metropolitan Social Planning Council so sincerely seeks, seems to some suburban groups to be stultifying to individual work. It is worthy of note that it was almost impossible to lure municipal welfare and recreation leaders, either elected or appointed, to the Needs

and Resources Study of the Social Planning Council with the exception of those who were participating in the programme. Many would wonder that a group almost uniformly without municipal experience, as either elected or appointed officials, should be so confident of its understanding of the political situation as to recommend with assurance "a system of integration of both the health services and the welfare services which will ensure more uniform and equitable standards of services and coverage for all who live within the boundaries of Metropolitan Toronto, and yet which will be set up in such a way as to provide for flexible administration, to ensure a sensitive but efficient administration of these services." (z) Their request is a contradiction in terms, and many equally conscientious and far more knowledgeable people feel such an integration is the last thing to be desired.

The opposition of suburban mayors and reeves to the amalgamation of mandatory welfare services in February, 1963, was not due entirely to the additional financial burden it would place on their municipalities. As stated in their brief, "Few, if any, government services require to be dealt with on a more personal basis than welfare. The policies can be better administered where there is close contact with those who are required to avail themselves of the services."

The East York brief, submitted at the same time, cited "the views expressed on pages 164-5 of the London Commission Report: "Our general view of the personal health, welfare and children's services is that since they deal mainly with the lives of people living in their own homes, they should be organized in as small units as is consistent with efficiency. The various services should operate whenever possible from one council building, and there should be a conscious effort to achieve good team work between the officers concerned. They should not be mere voices on the telephone or signatories of letters to each other, but the man or woman who can be seen at any time by walking down the corridor. It is also much easier for a compact local authority of this sort to co-operate effectively with local voluntary bodies engaged in social welfare work". We might add that the high degree of specialization in the Toronto Welfare Department influenced us against appointing any of several highly experienced applicants for a vacancy in our own Welfare Department.

The conclusion of the report is that personal health, welfare and children's services should be in the hands of the "smallest practical local authority" possibly "somewhere in the region of 100,000". We remain of this opinion.

The Township of East York finds a unit of 72,000 sufficient for its welfare needs but co-operates with the town of Leaside in a single health unit. Councillors and health and welfare officials alike participate in the area social planning council which has conducted numerous local studies and has made

valuable contributions to our thinking.

We would concur in the recommendation of the Metropolitan Social Planning Council "that the Juvenile and Family Court be decentralized and that counselling services for youth be expanded setting up centres of health and welfare where in one building would be housed the municipal health and welfare departments, a branch of the Juvenile and Family Court and other child, youth, and family counselling agencies," provided such agencies operated as municipal services under control of local welfare departments. (18) This could only be done at the local level. (19)

(18) The problems involved in municipal financing of services under control of private boards was well covered in a brief from the Ontario Welfare Officer's Association to the Ministers' Advisory Committee on Child Welfare.

(19) The relation between health and welfare can only work at the local area. In East York, the Health and Welfare departments are housed together and are in constant touch with each other. When the city of Toronto felt the necessity for decentralization, it established joint branches for health and welfare services, indicating that such collaboration is desirable, but it is not apparent or perhaps possible at the higher echelons. The necessity for common action in these fields is emphasized by the Report of the Royal Commission on Local Government in the Greater London Area (1960) which notes that the mere fact that "a large county council" like London has "ultimate responsibility for health, welfare and children's departments" does not of itself lead to joint or common action between the three departments, and indeed periodical council meetings with their enormous agendas, or even co-ordinating committees, are not apt pieces of machinery for this purpose ... An authority with a population of 500,000 is too large ... the disadvantages of separate chains of command and separate empires become manifest".

In connection with the much talked-of drive on work with "hard-to-reach teen-agers, there should be a similar local tie-up. It would be desirable to have an officer from the Metropolitan Youth Bureau working in each borough with the appropriate leaders in public and voluntary recreation to provide a proper liaison with the police.

Some cities to find lower standards of mandatory services in certain areas in Metropolitan Toronto. It is difficult to understand how this can be the case, particularly since the services are, as defined, mandatory. The local departments are checked regularly by the Provincial representatives, they work in close harmony with other area offices and with the Metropolitan Toronto Welfare Department. Any sizeable variation would certainly soon come to light. The per person cost might be higher in some areas but, for example, rents may be higher. On the basis of all available information it would appear that the mandatory services are equally adequate throughout the metropolitan Toronto area.

However, administrative costs differ widely, and even allowing for a high incidence of welfare cases in the core of the it does not appear that services are handled as efficiently there as in the suburban areas. According to a recent Metropolitan Welfare Report, the City of Toronto with a population of less than half that of the other area municipalities (41.5% of total) had five times the number of persons aided (5,000 to 25,000) spent seven times as much (about 85% of total) and had over ten times the staff. This may all be

necessary but the administration should be gone into very carefully in order to determine whether adjustment is necessary and to check the common belief that the average length of time that a person is on relief in the City is much longer than in suburban areas.

There are, of course many services which a community can offer along welfare lines, either with or without government assistance and either alone or in co-operation with a private agency. It is our feeling that these should be tailored to neighbourhood needs, not merely provided as standard necessities throughout the area. In the former case day nurseries may be quite unnecessary. In the latter they would certainly be used.

Summing up, then, we believe that:

(a) The division of present welfare responsibilities may well remain untouched, the control of actual case work, remaining with the local municipality where it can be closely correlated with services in health, recreation, and education.

(b) Provision should be made for a closer liaison between local welfare authorities and the police and courts.

4. Housing

Public housing in this country has never achieved the popularity it enjoys abroad. Among other reasons for this is probably the slight social stigma attached to occupation of any rented accommodation. Toronto, in particular, has

always prided itself on being "a city of homes" and hence of home-owners. Residents of their own frail and minuscule homes regard apartment dwellers as a bit scatty and irresponsible. The aim of every honest workingman in this city has always been to buy a home and the aim of almost every aged couple who own one is to stay in it as long as possible.

For this and other reasons the people of the Metropolitan area at large have never really accepted public housing. For the old people, yes; but not economically built, small homes for large families in crowded rows or high piles, in immediate juxtaposition to "us" and raising "our" tax rate.

It is suggested that a new approach should be considered to public housing. If senior governments could be induced to set a maximum aid figure and let municipalities operate freely within that figure, (20) it might be possible to get a fair amount of public housing done by the local municipality in dribs and drabs here and there , where it would increase instead of lowering values and improve instead of marring the appearance of the neighbourhood. A certain

(20) Federal and provincial agencies cannot take time to plan for individual homes and streets - hence the large ghetto-like areas which are inevitable while they have to approve all details.

amount of this might even be made compulsory. Such housing would fit into a community without overtaking its services.

Proper legislation might result in better maintenance or even rehabilitation by slum landlords, but if large-scale urban renewal projects are to take place, they must remain a Metropolitan responsibility. Even local housing projects should probably be financed and owned by the Metropolitan Corporation since people in need of such housing would cross municipal boundaries.

It is therefore recommended that an attempt be made to concentrate housing approval powers within the Metropolitan Corporation, subject to any terms of reference laid down by senior governments, with power to build large projects on new land or in redevelopment areas or smaller projects directly or through the local municipality wherever these do not conflict with established plans and zoning.

THE PRICE OF MOBILITY

" 'City planning'seems to be largely in the hands of people who hate cities and have no understanding whatever of what makes cities more than aggregates of buildings and traffic lanes."

- Ernest van den Haag
(CIPA Report)

Science fiction has presented some grim satires on the life and works of twentieth-century man but none grimmer than the little tale of the man and wife who wanted to settle down for a few months while they were having a child. Unfortunately so much of the earth was covered with roads that only millionaires could afford home-sites.

Mr. C. Wright Mills at a conference on the Troubled Metropolis,⁽¹⁾ quoted Lenin as saying that " there is a distinction between what people are interested in and what are the people's interests. If you take the first, that you are going to do only what people are interested in, you can never get much of a change, short of some upheaval or catastrophe from outside the system. Why? Because what they are interested in is what they have been habituated to."

Mr. Ernest van der Haag said much the same thing: "The trouble is that each of us tries to get what he desires, and suffers from the fulfilment of everybody else's desires; for it is fulfilling people's desires that leads to congestion, to overbuilding, and also to sprawl. In a democracy, Santayana

(1) CIPA Report, page 34

remarked, people can do as they wish and (therefore) do not get what they want. The present development of 'metropolitan areas', planned and unplanned, seems to illustrate Santayana's dictum."

If government is to be truly democratic, however, it is quite as important for it to be "for the people" as "by the people", and the truly dedicated public servant will try to find out not what the people think they want or what they have been told they want so often they have come to believe it, but what will enable them to get real satisfaction out of life. It is then his job to sell it to them.

In facing the problems of urban transportation the duality of feeling mentioned as characteristic of democracy appears in very intense form. Everyone wants public transportation to be readily accessible, but not on his street. Everyone wants his own street quiet, but objects strenuously if he is not allowed to cut through somebody else's. Everyone wants free parking for himself but metered or short-term parking for everybody else, so that he can get ready access to his destination. However, people soon become accustomed to most changes. It is the responsibility of their elected officials to determine which are ultimately *on* their interests. Obviously there must be truck routes if provisions are to be distributed and services supplied. In any case cartage is an essential part of modern business and since trucks move faster at night, much of this commercial and industrial transport will move while the rest *of* the world is trying to sleep.

Now people have learned to sleep in the midst of the most appalling din, but sudden noises, such as back-firing or the screech of brakes will wake most of us. It is obviously better for more people, to establish truck routes, which should be Metropolitan roads, and insist that transport vehicles keep to these routes except for local deliveries.

Local versus Metropolitan

The use of roads by private cars arouses very different emotions in the breasts of different officials. As pointed out by Mrs. Corbet to the British House of Commons, "A director of traffic, to produce anything at all sensible, must be a real dictator, and must not listen to anything whatever in the way of representations from local authorities. But this is a problem in which traffic cannot be allowed to dictate to London. London's amenities must be preserved, and ...the body which looks after the amenities of a neighbourhood is the planning authority which sees to it that people's lives are not ruined by the needs of traffic".⁽²⁾

Mrs. Corbet was worried that the director of traffic was to be a county official and therefore could not be restrained as he should be by the planning boards, which in London are all local. Unfortunately County and Metropolitan planning boards appear to be much less interested in such things than their local counterparts. They do not even try to restrain traffic directors. In fact, they share computers with them.

2. London Hansard, Vol. 669, No. 31, Tuesday Dec. 11/62, Col. 269

This conflict was pointed out by the East York Council in its Report to Metro on the Proposed Uniform Traffic Policy:

"Traffic routes are the arteries of a community. Without them land use would wither. On the other hand, traffic routes without land use would be pointless. Traffic routes and land uses are, therefore, complementary.

"Just as there are different types of land use so there are different types of streets. The statement that 'All municipal streets are public thoroughfares, and should be recognized as such' may be legally correct but it is suggested that it can be quite misleading or unqualified. According to it, the riding of horses and bicycles, and the pushing of baby carriages on expressways should be recognized, but these are obviously undesirable uses. Similarly, frequent vehicular traffic on light local residential streets may be legally proper but is undesirable.

"There is, therefore, a need for a distinction to be drawn between, on the one hand, those streets which are arterial and to which land use should be subservient, and on the other hand, those which are local and should be subservient to the land use.

"In Metro Toronto, the situation is complicated by the fact that there are two jurisdictions. Land use and its subservient local streets are largely the responsibility of the area municipalities, while the movement of through traffic is primarily a Metro responsibility. From the point of view of Metro -- faced with congestion on arterial

streets, it seems reasonable to obtain relief by spilling excess traffic onto local streets. From the local point of view, it seems only right to protect local land use and streets from through traffic.

"If local streets are to be protected from through traffic, then it stands to reason that through streets should be protected from local traffic.

"Examples of conflicting Metro and local policies are:

"1. Sloane Avenue where Metro has spent public money to facilitate turns onto that street off Eglinton Avenue and North York has then spent public funds to discourage through traffic on that street.

"2. Some roads which have been reconstructed by Metro to serve as arterial streets, are being reduced in their capacity to function as such, by the action of area municipalities in zoning to permit new traffic generating uses which have direct access on to such streets.....

"It is therefore suggested:

"A. That all streets be classified according to function and jurisdiction. This might be by assuming all arterial roads as Metro Streets. All other streets under local jurisdiction would be Local Streets for this purpose.

"B. That Metro adopt a policy that no action will be taken which would encourage the use of local streets by through traffic.

"G. That the local municipalities adopt a policy that no action will be taken which would encourage the development of traffic generating uses having direct access onto Metro roads . . .".

"Strip commercial development on arterial streets .. was developed where on-street parking was permissible and no off-street parking was, therefore, provided. If these streets had continued as Township streets, on-street parking would probably still be permissible. However, in order to provide service to through traffic having origin and destination in other municipalities, many of these streets have been taken over as Metro streets at no cost. On-street parking is being, and must eventually be, eliminated from them if they are properly to carry out their function. Such elimination of parking is, however, tantamount to gradual expropriation without compensation.

"It is felt that while there may be no legal obligation there is certainly a moral obligation on the authority responsible for the streets to ensure that its actions do not create a hardship on one section of the populace for the benefit of another.

"Such streets will probably eventually have to be widened, involving expropriation of property.

"Outright expropriation of some of these properties now would have the following benefits:

"1. Give relief to those expropriated, allowing them to move to a more suitable location to the benefit of all.

"2. Provide vacant land which could be used as off-street parking for the remaining stores, in the meantime.

"3. Spread the expense of property acquisition for street widening over a greater number of years.

"It is therefore suggested that until some policy has been adopted for relieving the hardship imposed on strip stores by elimination of parking, no policies should be approved which would automatically eliminate on-street parking."

Motor Cars and Men. The car is today the rival of the home. To many in our mobile civilization, it is actually more essential. In Metropolitan Toronto, whatever lip service is paid, and at enormous cost, to public transport, the whole orientation of plans and planners is towards accommodation and movement of cars.

This problem was presented very clearly some time ago
by Andrew MacFarlane (12) :

(12) Telegram, July 24, 1961.

There is a widening schism in opinion between those who believe the streets are for the unimpeded convenience of traffic, including trucks, and those who believe that traffic must be regulated, impeded, inconvenienced and frustrated in those places where, given its head, traffic would destroy residential life.

On one side stand the traffic engineers, the trucking industry and some politicians.

On the other side are those with a growing concern over the dwindling rights vouchsafed the city dweller by those he pays to administer his government.

That concern was recently expressed by a ratepayers' representative who said:

"We are concerned with the effect of traffic noise, fumes, vibration and misbehavior upon the mental, physical, financial and social well-being of many families ...

"A good part of this deplorable situation is due to what we might call a state of mind. This state of mind can be rather bluntly, but not necessarily harshly, paraphrased into the following

"The interests of the citizen as the driver or owner of a private, public, or commercial vehicle are always much more important to the community than the interests of the citizen in or about his home or apartment. Therefore, it is the duty of the public official to resolve any traffic planning or any conflict of interests between the two in favor of the citizen as the driver or owner of the motor vehicle.'

"Such a state of mind is dictating traffic policy, not only at the provincial level where a socially desirable anti-noise bylaw is effectively denied by the trucking industry, but at the municipal level where the traffic policy involves the resolute routing of traffic through purely residential streets."

Public Transportation

Humphrey Carver, in his interesting study of "Cities in the Suburbs"⁽⁴²⁾, has an interesting graphic representation of the City made by Street-cars with its solid centre and long fingers of growth. He compares this with another representation of how the Suburbs Break Loose scattered by the mobility of cars and trucks⁽⁴³⁾. The difficulty of providing public transport for such loosely extended suburbs on an economical basis is at once apparent.

But it is easy to be wise after the event. Mr. Carver was writing in 1962. In the years immediately following World War II, when the Metro concept was taking shape in men's minds, men still thought in terms of the City Built By Street-cars. Nearly a third of the Toronto and York Planning Board Report of December 1, 1949⁽⁴⁴⁾ is devoted to Arterial Roads and Public Transit, mostly the latter, and the scheme proposed there is not unlike that actually implemented in 1954, though there was some modification of subway routes.

Norman D. Wilson⁽⁴⁵⁾ was already aware of some of the coming problems, as is clear from his general comments:

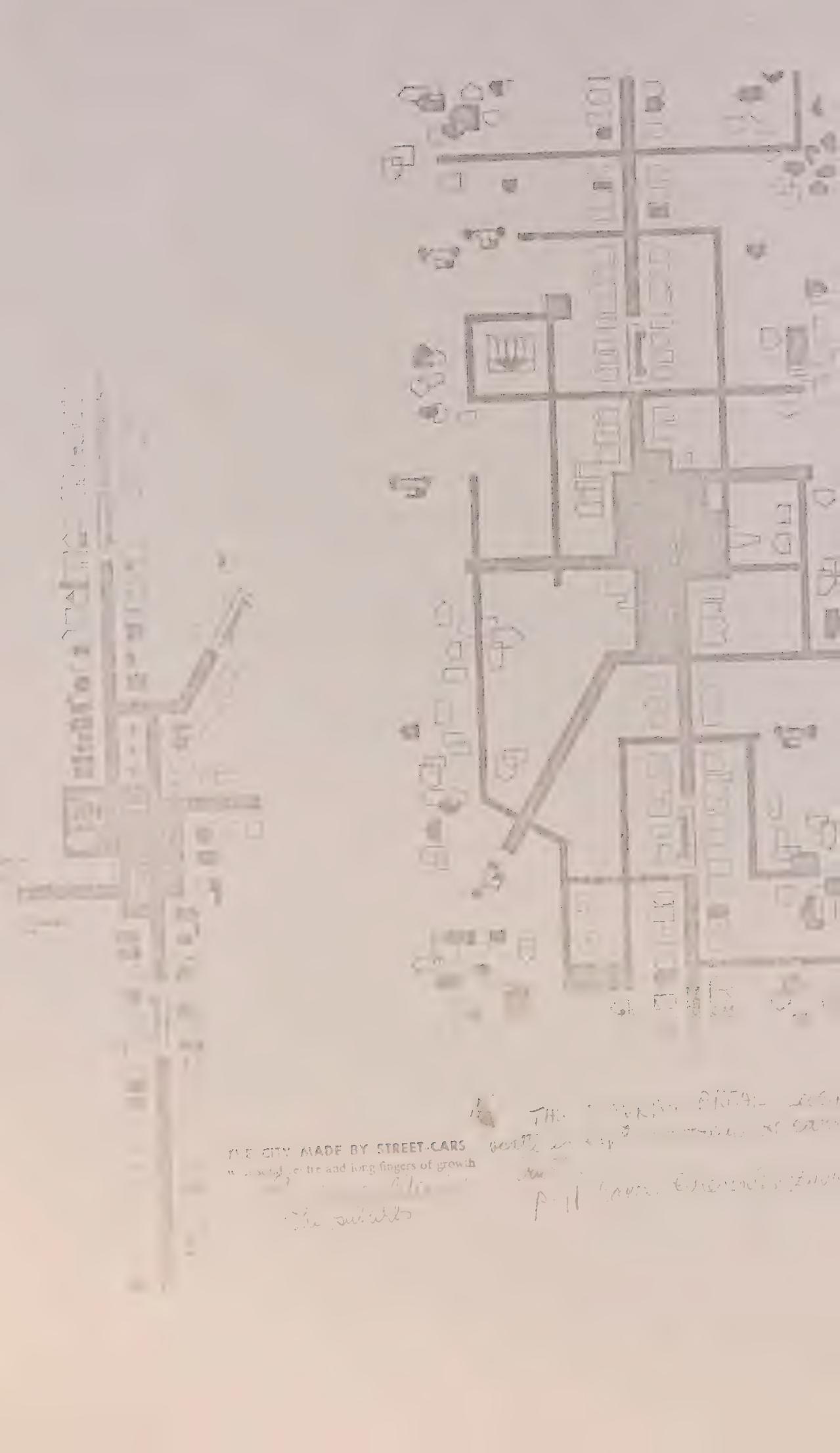
"The street-car was introduced one hundred years ago. By 1860 few cities of any size were without them. Under their influence cities slowly expanded their areas, and this development of residential areas removed from the business zone was

(42) University of Toronto Press, 1962. Mr. Carver has been a Lecturer in Town Planning in the School of Architecture, U. of T., and a Research Associate at the School of Social Work, U. of T. Since 1955 he has been responsible, under the C. M. H. C., for educational and research programmes in housing and community planning, and in 1962 was Vice-president of the Town Planning Institute of Canada.

(43) *Metrolinx*, pp. 1-11 + 6-8, overleaf, may be compared with 25.67

(44) *Historical Record of the City of Toronto*, 1951.

(45) Chapter 6 of the Transportation Plan of the Toronto and the Suburban Areas Adjacent dated April 15, 1949, and quoted extensively in T.Y.P.B. Report.



THE CITY MADE BY STREET-CARS
is a single core and long fingers of growth

The suburbs

THE PARK AREA
The business district
The residential areas

P. 11

greatly expedited after street-railways were electrified in the 1890's. The thirty years following 1890 was the era of the electric street-railway. It was the sole form of transport available to or desired by the great mass of the citizens.

"More to the point, a growing city shaped itself into conformity with this means of transport. Business was concentrated at the centre, and residential areas extended on all sides. With very limited vehicular travel to be provided for, relatively narrow streets and pavements were adequate, and lack of continuity in the street systems was not a matter of concern. All major and continuous streets were laid with car-tracks. That was the factor that made them main business streets.

"While the automobile became a practical vehicle about 1905, it was another 15 or 20 years before its use was such as to create any civic problem. Increasingly it has become apparent that the form stamped on our cities by a century of street-car civilization is not adequate or satisfactory for or to motor vehicles,

"Motor vehicle traffic demands great expansion of street space. For its free and safe movement it requires segregation from other forms of traffic. It requires an enormous amount of parking-space, or its utility and convenience are circumscribed. If motor-cars were to be universally used, more than half the floor space in any business zone would have to be given over to car storage. If the solution of the transportation problem lies in completely conforming to the needs of the motor vehicle, it means the almost complete destruction and rebuilding of our cities.

"The alternative extreme is to forbid motor vehicles within a mile or more of the downtown zone without special permit."

That Mr. Wilson was in advance of his time is shown by his desire to extend the zone of single-fare transit service as far as seemed reasonable having in mind "natural traffic-limits and operating conditions".

He would never, one feels sure, have separated an entire bus line along one end of a municipality only two miles wide, as the Dawes Road route was cut off from the one-fare zone including the rest of East York, when most of this route was inside the circle, the radius of which is established by the Luttrell Loop, so that residents of a 2,000 foot strip of that township would have to pay double fare to reach almost any of the services for which their taxes were paying.

He suggested a surcharge on tickets within what he called the city-zone "for subway construction" but added specifically: "No subway-surcharge will be collected in the metropolitan (second) fare zone". Failure to heed his advice has been one of the apparent inequities that has rankled deepest in the three large outer suburbs which, while they do not suffer from the internal 2-fare problem of East York-- being entirely in the outer fare zone--yet feel a natural indignation that they must make the same tax contribution to the subway as those who use it without extra fare charges⁽⁴⁶⁾.

(46) Annual two-mill tax to subsidize T.T.C. imposed in April, 1959. An additional annual levy of between 1 and 2 mills more will probably be required to meet the extra T.T.C. debt charges assumed by Metro in December, 1963.

Although the Cumming Report specifically mentioned the Wilson Report⁽⁴⁷⁾ it did not quote Mr. Wilson's warnings, and these were ignored. Nor did Bill 80 incorporate Dr. Cumming's suggestion that Metro fix the Commissioners' salaries, which might have effected somewhat better co-operation than has sometimes been evidenced.

In any case, even in the Wilson report, there is no real attempt to foresee and evaluate the probably financial and psychological results of the T.T.C. takeover. It was assumed that because the T.T.C., a city body, city-experienced, city-oriented, had been able to operate efficiently within the densely populated city limits, it would automatically have the larger knowledge and the political sagacity, not to mention the public relations skill and the risk capital, to select the best routes through a huge, sparsely settled area and then operate them successfully. Perhaps no one could have done so; certainly the T.T.C. has not. In an effort to make public transport fit the Metro pattern, since it was expedient to make it appear that street-car riders were receiving the same attention as drivers of private cars, Metro was saddled with perhaps the most divisive of all its problems.

The T.T.C. took over all the suburban bus lines, but in changing their autonomous operations to conform to policies which had worked in the City it robbed them of many of the features which had interwoven them as closely with suburban life as the T.T.C. had been interwoven with City life. They became nothing but unsuccessful feeders to the old city network. Everyone had been making money before. Everyone

(47) C.p. cit. p. 52.

now began to lose money.

Of course, it is not all as simple as this. Wages would have mounted in the suburbs for the bus proprietors as they have for other services. (13) Buses would have had to be replaced. Perhaps local lines might have lost business anyway in the rush of post-war prosperity.

But I was myself a public transit rider at that time. I saw the service in East York diminish in frequency and convenience. There were more transfers and longer waits. I saw the ridership falling off ⁱⁿ rush hour at Broadview and Danforth and I assumed it was because of the cuts in service. I did not want a car and could not afford a car, but I too stopped using public transit, where time was a consideration, and turned to taxis.

In spite of the transfusion of new blood, the Toronto Transit System seems strikingly inefficient. Its officials are aging and seem unalterably attached to old theories and methods. They find it incomprehensible that anyone should want to go anywhere except down town and back. The fact that suburbanites wish to cross their townships to use the services their taxes have bought, without going into the city at all, is outside their experience. They think in

(13) At the time of presentation of this brief East York's firemen are getting paid more than Toronto's. In 1953 they got less pay and worked longer hours.

terms of cutting to meet expenses instead of increasing services to attract customers.

The commission seems inept. It talks about independence, yet it exacts grants that impose a crippling burden on the tax-rate. It holds meetings to which it will not admit a liaison representative from the Metro Council and conducts its own planning and research, which could well be done by the Metro Planning Department with the addition of a specially trained engineer.

Several members of the Metropolitan Council, including Reeve Goodhead and Controller (then Alderman) Archer, have expressed the view that the T.T.C. might well become a department of the Metropolitan Government. It would be headed then, by one commissioner having very great power, and responsible for efficient operation, who would be publicly accountable for his success or failure.

Without such public accountability it is hard to justify a monopoly and it is impossible to justify subsidization from the tax rate.

It is recognized pretty generally now, I think, that the University Avenue subway should not have been designed to provide a continuous trip with the Bloor line. This was a very costly mistake. It was aggravated by the premature opening of the University line, another foolish extravagance. Yet when the Metropolitan Council was advised of this opening, an attempt to question it was stifled by

the land assurance that this was a matter entirely for the decision of the T.T.C. and that we were merely being informed as a courtesy.

Many other subjects should be considered in connection with transportation. A two-level committee is now studying additional resources for mass transit such as commuter trains. Buildings of the future may require roofs with helicopter landings, and helicopter traffic may have to be controlled. But the major problems have to do with the choice of public or private transportation and the battle for survival between men and motor-cars.

It is recommended, then, regarding transportation:

(a) That the Metropolitan Corporation continue to be responsible for expressways and major arterial roads, carrying heavy traffic across municipal boundaries, and that local authorities be free to close or divert traffic or decrease speeds on local roads in the best interests of the local community, Metro being obliged to take over local roads when it refuses to allow the local community to protect them, and to provide insulated cutoffs if possible, where they are needed to prevent inundation of local streets by through traffic.

(b) That the Metropolitan Corporation take over the Toronto Parking Authority and increase it to provide adequate parking at subway terminals, where local parking is driven off roads by Metropolitan traffic requirements, and at the major entrances to a special downtown area where ordinary traffic would be prohibited and where only taxis, chauffeur-driven cars

dropping passengers, delivery trucks and public transportation would be allowed.

(c) That more attention be paid by traffic planners to pedestrian safety and less to speeding up traffic.

(d) That the Toronto Transit System be taken over as a department of Metropolitan Government with one responsible Commissioner.

